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THE BURNEY PAPERS.

PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION,

THE

JOURNALS & CORRESPONDENCE

OF

MADE. D'ARBLAY,

Author of "EVELINA," "CECILIA," &c. &c.

EDITED BY HER NIECE.

In announcing the publication of "THE JOURNALS AND CORRESPONDENCE OF THE CELEBRATED AUTHOR OF 'EVELINA,' 'CECILIA,'" &c. the Publisher cannot use terms more appropriate than those of the Writer herself, to convey a general impression of the materials of which by far the larger portion of the Work, "THE JOURNALS," consist. The following is the opening passage of Miss Burney's Diary, which was commenced in 1768, and continued, with but few interruptions, during the entire period of the Writer's long and eventful life:

"To have some account of my thoughts, actions, and acquaintance, when the hour arrives when time is more nimble than memory, is the reason which induces me to keep a Journal—*a Journal in which I shall confess every thought—shall open my whole heart.*" When we call to mind that the person who formed this resolution, and adhered to it during the whole of her long life, was one of the most remarkable and justly celebrated women, not merely of her own, but of *any time* or country—that her family position, no less than her celebrity, commanded for her an intimate intercourse with all that was illustrious in English Literature and Art during their most illustrious era, and that the results of such resolution are now to be given to the world precisely as they left the hand of their writer (the omissions required by personal and family considerations being alone excepted), the curiosity and interest such an announcement must excite, will scarcely be increased by any thing that could be added descriptive of the Work.

Yet something more is necessary in order to convey a just and adequate notion of the interest and importance of the present Work.

And here again, no words can be used so suitable to the purpose in view, as the Writer's own, when speaking of the Journal itself to one of her dearest and most trusted friends:

"I never mix truth and fiction, all that I relate in journalizing, is strictly, nay, plainly, fact. I never, in all my life, have been a sayer of the thing that is not, and now I should be not only a knave but a fool in doing so, as I have other purposes for imaginary characters than filling letters with them. Give me credit, therefore, on the score of interest and common sense, if not of principle. The world too, especially the great world, is so filled with absurdity of various sorts—now bursting forth in impertinence, now in pomposity, now giggling in silliness, now yawning in dullness, that there is no occasion for *invention* to draw what is striking in every possible species of the ridiculous."

It is well known, from the literary history of the time, that Madame D'Arblay was the intimate associate of all who were intellectually distinguished in London Society, both native and foreign, during the greater part of her life. But it is not so generally known, that, shortly after the publication of her second work, "CECILIA," she was spontaneously offered by Queen Charlotte, a situation of confidence about Her Majesty's person, which she retained for more than six years, and which brought her into daily intercourse with every individual forming the Court of George the Third. During this remarkable period of her life, Miss Burney never omitted, before she retired to rest, recording in her Journal the events and conversations of the past day.

And this *Private History of the Court of George the Third*, during the important period in question—namely, from 1786 to 1791, inclusive—will form part of the Work now announced for publication.

Thus much of the JOURNALS of Madame D'Arblay. The CORRESPONDENCE, which will form part of this publication, and will take its place chronologically with the DIARY, will include, besides a large number of Madame D'Arblay's own Letters, a selection from those addressed to her by the various distinguished literary and other persons, with whom she was intimate.

The Work will be published in Monthly Volumes, uniform with "The Life of Sir Walter Scott." It will be comprised in about Six Volumes; the First Volume of which will appear on the 1st of January, 1842.

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NOW FIRST PUBLISHED.

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION,

By THOMAS CAMPBELL, Esq.

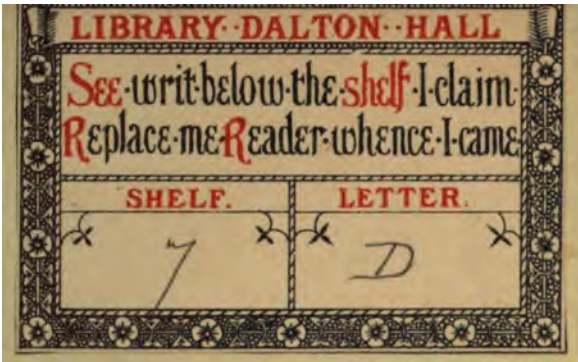
Author of "The Pleasures of Hope;" The "Life of Petrarch," &c.

If there be any who, from an imperfect acquaintance with the character of the second Frederick of Prussia, are disposed to deny him the title of "the Great," conferred by the gratitude of his subjects, and confirmed by the unanimous voice of other nations — none can dispute that he was the most remarkable sovereign of modern times. The period in which he lived was as remarkable as the character to which it gave form and colour. It was a period of transition from the barbarism of the middle ages to the over-refinement of the age in which we live; and it presents for historical delineation features and characters more original, more picturesque, more eccentric, and more intensely interesting than perhaps any other, for the illustration of which we possess materials equally copious and authentic.

During the last ten years, the researches of industrious foreigners have brought to light a vast mass of information, absolutely new and original, relative to the period in question; and from these and other sources, the author of "Frederick the Great, and his Times," has gathered an ample store of details, especially concerning that extraordinary Monarch and Man, but incidentally touching upon almost every eminent person with whom he and his not less extraordinary and eccentric father, Frederick William, came in contact.

It may in fact be asserted, that much of the history of the illustrious House of Brandenburg is untrodden ground, which promises a harvest as rich in social and political instruction as in romantic adventure and matter replete with intense moral excitement.

The subject of "Frederick the Great and his Times" is justly characterized by Mr. Thomas Campbell, as one of the most spirit-stirring of modern history; and it is impossible to doubt that the personal details which will now first be given to the English reader, relative to the Philosopher-King, and the greatest of modern Warriors (for he did the most with the smallest comparative means), will form a most attractive historico-biographical novelty.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MEMORIALS

OF THE

GREAT CIVIL WAR

IN

ENGLAND

FROM 1646 TO 1652.

MEMORIALS

OF THE

GREAT CIVIL WAR

IN

ENGLAND

FROM 1646 TO 1652.

EDITED FROM ORIGINAL LETTERS IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY

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AND OF NUMEROUS OTHER EMINENT PERSONS

BY

HENRY CARY, M.A.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,
GREAT MARLBOROUGH-STREET.
1842.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LORD JOHN RUSSELL,

IN TESTIMONY TO HIS ZEAL AND ABILITY

IN UNIFORMLY SUPPORTING

THE BEST PRINCIPLES OF THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION,

THESE MEMORIALS,

TENDING TO ILLUSTRATE

THE MOST EVENTFUL PERIOD OF ENGLISH HISTORY,

ARE INSCRIBED

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S MOST OBEDIENT HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE EDITOR.

PREFACE.

THE Tanner collection of MSS., from which these volumes are taken, is too well known to require that any account should be here given of them. It is rather matter of surprise that they should have so long remained unpublished.

In preparing this work for the press, the editor has had two principal points to attend to; the selection of the most interesting, from a large mass of unpublished materials; and the illustration of what has been selected, with notes. In executing the former part of his task, he trusts that nothing of higher interest has been omitted: in the latter, opinions will vary according to the extent of information, or the means of access to it, possessed by different readers.

Scarcely any part of Sancroft's correspondence, that could be deciphered, has been omitted. With some few exceptions, the letters to and from him have but little bearing on the general history of the

times: but it is to be hoped that the reader will find in them an agreeable relief from the turmoils of party strife and civil dissension; at the same time that they throw light on the character and history of one of the best amongst men in any age.

The letters are all arranged chronologically. The two brief narratives of the escape of Charles the Second, after the battle of Worcester, are placed a little out of date, that they may not interrupt the order of the letters.

CONTENTS OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

	Page
Introduction	xix
Colonel Ireton to Oliver Cromwell. April 23, 1646. .	1
Dr. Holdsworth to Mr. Sancroft. April 24, 1646. .	4
R. Augier to the Speaker. April 24, 1646. . . .	5
Colonels Rainsborough and Fleetwood to the Speaker. April 26, 1646.	8
Colonel Payne to Major-Gen. Brown. April 27, 1646. .	9
Robert Russell to Lord Warwick. April 28, 1646. .	11
Colonel Payne to Major-Gen. Brown. April 29, 1649. .	12
Dr. Holdsworth to Mr. Sancroft. April 30, 1646. .	14
Mr. Sancroft to his Father. May 4, 1646. . . .	15
Lieutenant-General Poyntz to the Speaker. May 5, 1646.	19
From the Leaguer at Newark to the Speaker. May 5, 1646.	20
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker. May 5, 1646. .	21
Lord Savile to the Speaker. May 5, 1646. . . .	21
The Same to Colonel Martin. May 5, 1646. . . .	25
Mr. Rushworth to the Speaker. May 9, 1646. . .	26
Colonel Whaley to the Speaker. May 9, 1646. . .	28
Mr. Sancroft to his Father. May 11, 1646. . . .	28
The Agent to the Committee of both kingdoms, in Paris, to the Speaker. May 15, 1646.	32
R. Augier to the Speaker. May 15, 1646. . . .	41
Edward Hyde to Richard Arundel. May 15, 1646. .	45
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker. May 18, 1646. .	50
Lord Lauderdale to the Speaker. May 20, 1646. . .	51
Sir Thomas Littleton to Mr. Sancroft. May 21, 1646. .	54
The Agent at Paris to the Committee of both Kingdoms. May 22, 1646.	56
Sir Trevor Williams to Sir John Trevor. May 23, 1646.	63

W. J. to Mr. Chaloner. May 24, 1646. . . . 64
Thomas Smallwood to Luke Robinson. May 25, 1646. . 66
Emanuel Issachar to the Burgesses in Parliament for Yorkshire. May 28, 1646. 68
The Agent at Paris to the Committee of both Kingdoms. May 29, 1646. 72
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker. May 29, 1646. . 77
Major-General Poyntz to the Speaker. May 29, 1646. . 78
The Same to the Same. May 29, 1646. 79
The Scots' Commissioners to the Speaker. May 30, 1646. 80
Colonel Fowlis to Mr. Thomas Chaloner. June 2, 1646. 82
Col. Morgan to the Marquis of Worcester. June 3, 1646. 84
The Marquis of Worcester to Col. Morgan. June 3, 1646. 85
Col. Morgan to the Marquis of Worcester. June 3, 1646. 86
The Marquis of Worcester to Col. Morgan. June 4, 1646. 87
Colonel Morgan to the Speaker. June 4, 1646. . . 87
Major-General Poyntz to the Committee of Estates for Scotland. June 4, 1646. 88
Major-Gen. Massey to Sir Thomas Fairfax. June 4, 1646. 90
Mr. Weller to Mr. Sancroft. June 6, 1646. . . . 92
Mich. Hudson to Mr. Cross and Mr. Stevens. June 7, 1646. 93
Sir Thomas Hanmer to the Speaker. June 7, 1646. . 95
Lady Dalkeith to the Speaker. June 8, 1646. . . 99
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker. June 13, 1646. . 101
Colonel Birch to the Governor of Goodrich Castle. June 13, 1646. 102
Sir Henry Lingen to Colonel Birch. June 14, 1646. . 104
Colonel Birch to Sir Henry Lingen. June 14, 1646. . 105
Mr. Weller to Mr. Sancroft. June 16, 1646. . . 105
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker. June 16, 1646. . 106
Colonel Birch to the Speaker. June 18, 1646. . . 107
Major-General Poyntz to the Speaker. June 21, 1646. . 108
Michael Hudson to Mr. Brown. June 24, 1646. . . 109
Princes Rupert and Maurice to the Speaker. June 28, 1646. 114

The Earl of Bristol to the Speaker. June 29, 1646. . 118
Prince Rupert to the Speaker. June 29, 1646. . . 119
Prince Charles Lodovic to the Speaker. June 30, 1646. . 120
Prince Rupert to the Speaker. July 1, 1646. . . 121
The Earl of Bristol to the Speaker. July 3, 1646. . 122
The Duke of York to ———. July 16, 1646. . . 125
Colonel Thomas Bulstrode to the Speaker. July 22, 1646. 126
Colonel Morgan to the Speaker. July 23, 1646. . . 131
Colonel Langhorne to the Speaker. July 24, 1646. . 132
Mr. Rushworth to the Speaker. July 27, 1646. . . 133
The Committee at Chester to Colonel Booth and others. Aug. 1, 1646. 135
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker. Aug. 1, 1646. . 137
Sir Simonds Dewes to Sir John Potts. Aug. 4, 1646. . 139
Major-General Mytton to the Committee of both Kingdoms. Aug. 5, 1646. 140
Colonel Birch to the Speaker. Aug. 7, 1646. . . 142
Sir Thomas Glemham to the Speaker. Aug. 16, 1646. . 143
Colonel Richard Townsend to Colonel Thomas Ceely. Aug. 16, 1646. 144
Lord Jermyn to Sir Henry Killigrew. Aug. 16, 1646. . 145
Colonel Morgan to the Speaker. Aug. 17, 1646. . . 147
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker. Aug. 24, 1646. . 148
Denzel Hollis to the Speaker. Aug. 27, 1646. . . 149
Francis Gardiner to Mr. Sancroft. Aug. 1646. . . 151
Mr. Holbech to Mr. Sancroft. Sept. 30, 1646. . . 153
R. Augier to the Speaker. Oct. 4, Sept. 24, 1646. . . . 155
Sir Walter Strickland to the Speaker. Oct. 4, Sept. 24, 1646. . 165
The Same to the Same. Octob. 11, 1, 1646. . . . 167
The Bishops of London and Salisbury to the King. Oct. 4, 1646. 169
Mr. Gardiner to Mr. Sancroft. Nov. 23, 1646. . . 172
Major-General Poyntz to the Speaker. Nov. 27, 1646. . 174
The Same to the Same. Dec. 5, 1646. 175

Major-General Mytton to the Speaker. Dec. 19, 1646. . 177
Earl of Leven to the Commissioners at Northallerton. Jan. 23, 1647. 179
The Same to the Same. Jan. 26, 1647. 180
The Same to the Same. Jan. 26, 1647. . . . 181
From ——— to Colonel Harley. March 27, 1647. . 183
J. C. to Colonel Rossiter. March 28, 1647. . . . 184
The Speaker to Sir T. Fairfax. March 29, 1647. . . 185
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker. March 30, 1647. . 187
The Commissioners with the King to the Speaker. April 6, 1647. 188
Examination of Humphrey Bosvile. 189
Major-General Skippon to the Speaker. April 8, 1647. . 190
Dr. Holdsworth to Mr. Sancroft. April 14, 1647. . 192
The Same to the Same. April 16, 1647. . . . 193
The Parliamentary Commissioners with the Army to the Houses of Parliament. April 19, 1647. . . . 194
The Earl of Stamford to the Earl of Manchester. April 20, 1647. 199
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker. April 26, 1647. · 200
Edward Sexby and others, Agitators, to Major-General Skippon. April 28, 1647. 201
Skippon, Cromwell, and Ireton to the Speaker. May 3, 1647. 205
The Scottish Commissioners to the Speaker. May 6, 1647. 206
Skippon, Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood to the Speaker. May 8, 1647. 207
Richard Norwood to Mr. Prynne. May 15, 1647. . 209
Skippon, Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood, to the Speaker. May 17, 1647. 214
Dr. Holdsworth to Mr. Sancroft. May 20, 1647. . . 216
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker. May 30, 1647. . 217
The Committee at Chelmsford to the Committee at Derby House. May 31, 1647. 219

Colonel Rainsborough to the Speaker. June 1, 1647. . 221
From the Soldiery to the Commissioners at Holmby. June 3, 1647. 223
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker. June 4, 1647. . 224
The Same to the Same. June 8, 1647. 225
Sir Walter Strickland to the Speaker. June 10, 1647. . 226
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker. June 11, 1647. . 228
Major-General Skippon to the Speaker. June 14, 1647. 229
The Same to Lieutenant-Colonel Ashfield. June 14, 1647. 230
The Scotch Commissioners to the Speaker. June 16, 1647. 232
Major-General Poyntz to the Speaker. June 17, 1647. . 233
From the Agitators to the Masters of the Trinity House. June 18, 1647. 237
The Commissioners attending the King to the Speaker. June 18, 1647. 241
The Same to the Same. June 20, 1647. . . . 242
Sir Thomas Fairfax and the Council of War, to the Mayor, Aldermen, &c. of London. June 22, 1647. . . 245
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker. June 22, 1647. . 250
Colonel Birch to the Speaker. June 22, 1647. . . 251
The Commissioners attending the King to the Speaker. June 23, 1647. 254
Sir Thomas Fairfax and the Council of War to the Speaker. June 24, 1647. 255
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker. June 25, 1647. . 256
The Commissioners attending the King at Royston to the Speaker. June 25, 1647. 257
The Commissioners with the Army to the Speaker. June 25, 1647. 258
Sir Thomas Fairfax and the Council of War to the Commissioners with the Army. June 25, 1647. . . 260
The Commissioners with the Army to the Speaker. June 26, 1647. 260

Major-General Poyntz to the Speaker. June 26, 1647. . 264
The Commissioners with the Army to the Speaker. June 27, 1647. 265
The Same to the Same. June 27, 1647. . . . 267
The Commissioners with the King to the Speaker. June 29, 1647. 268
Sir Thomas Fairfax and the Council of War to the Commissioners with the Army. June 29, 1647. . . 269
The Same to the Same. June 30, 1647. . . . 270
The Commissioners with the King to the Speaker. June 30, 1647. 271
Dr. Holdsworth to [Mr. Sancroft.] June 30, 1647. . 273
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Commissioners with the Army. July 1, 1647. 274
The Commissioners with the Army to the Speaker. July 1, 1647. 275
The Commissioners with the King to the Speaker. July 2, 1647. 275
Prince Charles Lodovic to the Speaker. July 2, 1647. 276
The Deputy-Lieutenant at Chester to the Speaker. July 3, 1647. 277
The Committee at Chester to the Speaker. July 3, 1647. 281
Major-General Poyntz to the Speaker. July 3, 1647. . 282
The Commissioners with the King to the Speaker. July 4, 1647. 284
Sir Thomas Hoogan to the Speaker. July 5, 1647. . 285
The Commissioners with the Army to the Speaker. July 5, 1647. 286
The Same to the Same. July 6, 1647. 287
The Mayor of Lynn Regis to the Speaker. July 6, 1647. 288
The Army Commissioners to the Parliamentary Commissioners. July 7, 1647. 290
Sir H. Cholmeley to the Speaker. July 8, 1647. . . 293
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker. July 8, 1647 . . 294

Mr. Coker, Sheriff of Dorsetshire, to the Speaker. July 8, 1647. 295
The Commissioners with the King to the Speaker. July 9, 1647. 297
Major-General Poyntz to the Speaker. July 9, 1647. . 298
Elizabeth Poyntz to the Speaker. July 9, 1647. . . 300
Sir Thomas Fairfax and the Council of War to the Scotch Commissioners. July 10, 1647. 301
Sir Walter Strickland to the Speaker. July $\frac{25}{15}$, 1647. . 303
The Commissioners with the Army to the Speaker. July 15, 1647. 305
The Same to the Same. July 18, 1647. 307
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker. July 20, 1647. . 308
Sir Walter Strickland to the Speaker. $\frac{\text{Aug. 1,}}{\text{July 21,}}$ 1647. . . 309
Major-General Skippon to the Speaker. July 21, 1647. 312
The Commissioners with the King to the Speaker. July 21, 1647. 314
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker. July 23, 1647. . 315
The Commissioners with the Army to the Speaker. July 23, 1647. 315
The Same to the Same. July 25, 1647. 317
Mr. Arthur Annesley to the Speaker. July 28, 1649. 317
The Commissioners of Dublin to the Speaker. July 28, 1647. 320
The Commissioners with the Army to the Speaker. July 29, 1647. 322
Colonel Ralph Weldon to the Speaker. July 30, 1647. . 324
Sir Samuel Luke to the Speaker. Aug. 1, 1647. . . 325
Colonel Ralph Weldon to the Speaker. Aug. 2, 1647. . 326
The Same to the Same. Aug. 6, 1647. 327
The Bishop of Oxford to Dr. Sheldon. Aug. 7, 1647. . 329
Sir Robert Meredith to the Committee at Derby House. Aug. 11, 1647. 330
Dr. J. Barwick to Dr. Sheldon. 332

The Archbishop of Armagh to Dr. Sheldon. Aug. 16, 1647. 334
The Bishop of Durham to Dr. Sheldon. 335
The Same to the Same. 336
The Commissioners of Scotland to the Speaker. Aug. 17, 1647. 337
Mr. Anthony Nicoll to the Speaker. Aug. 17, 1647. . 339
Sir Walter Strickland to the Speaker. Aug. $\frac{29}{19}$, 1647. . 340
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker. Aug. 20, 1647. . 341
Colonel Ralph Weldon to the Speaker. Aug. 23, 1647. . 343
The Same to the Same. Aug. 27, 1647. . . . 344
The Bishop of Rochester to Dr. Sheldon. Aug. 28, 1647. . 346
Robert Sterling to ———. Aug. 30, 1647. . . . 347
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker. Aug. 31, 1647. . 349
Lord Inchiquin to the Speaker. Sept. 12, 1647. . . 350
N. Hobart to J. Hobart. Oct. 15, 1647. . . . 354
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker. Nov. 8, 1647. . 356
The Same to the Same. Nov. 12, 1647. . . . 356
Dr. Holdsworth to Mr. Sancroft. Nov. 15, 1647. . 359
Lord Inchiquin to Lord Taffe. Nov. 13, 1647. . . 360
The Same to the Speaker. Nov. 18, 1647. . . . 360
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker. Jan. 1648. . . 367
William Prynne to the Standing Committee for the County of Somerset. Jan. 15, 1648. 368
Thomas Knyvett to John Hubbert. Feb. 11, 1648. . 376
Lord Inchiquin to the Speaker. Feb. 17, 1648. . . 378
The Prince Elector to the Speaker of the House of Peers. April 4, 1648. 383
Francis Gardiner to Mr. Sancroft. April 11, 1648. . 384
Colonel Hammond to the Speaker. April 22, 1648. . 386
Sir Jacob Astley to Sir Thomas Potter. April 28, 1648. 390
Colonel Rainsborough to the Speaker. April 28, 1648. . 392
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker. May 1, 1648. . . 393
Capt. Andrew Ball to Sir Arthur Haslerig. May 2, 1648. 395

Sîr Arthur Haslerig to the Speaker. May 4, 1648. . 397
Christopher Barrett to the Speaker. May 4, 1648. . 399
Colonel Hammond to the Speaker. May 5, 1648. . . 403
Colonel Rigby to the Speaker. May 6, 1648. . . 407
Sir Arthur Haslerig to the Speaker. May 6, 1648. . 410
Captain Batten to the Speaker. May 6, 1648. . . 411
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker. May 7, 1648. . 413
Sir Arthur Haslerig to the Speaker. May 9, 1648. . 413
Mr. Sancroft to Dr. Holdsworth. May 11, 1648. . . 415
Major-General Poyntz to the Speaker. May 14, 1648. . 418
Sir Arthur Haslerig to the Speaker. May 18, 1648. . 419
Vice-Adm. Rainsborough to the Speaker. May 20, 1648. . 421
The Mayor of Rochester to the Parliament. May 21, 1648. 422
Job Weale to the Earl of Dover. May 21, 1648. . . 425
Colonel Hammond to the Committee at Derby House. May 22, 1648. 426
C. Paman to Mr. Sancroft. May 23, 1648. . . . 430
Sir John Finch to his Wife. May 25, 1648. . . . 431
Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Committee at Derby House. May 26, 1648. 435
Mr. Rushworth to the Speaker. May 30, 1648. . . 437
The Same to the Same. May 30, 1648. . . . 438
Mr. Weller [to Mr. Sancroft]. June 7, 1648. . . 439
The King to the Committee of the Scotch Parliament. July 31, 1648. 441
The Earl of Warwick to the Committee at Derby House. Aug. 1, 1648. 443

INTRODUCTION.

" In a contest between a king who refuses any limitation of his prerogative, and a people who require it, there can be no equitable agreement."

LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

THE remote causes of the Revolution, some portion of which the following Letters tend to illustrate, are to be traced to a period long anterior to the time in which the Revolution itself occurred.

The invention of printing, and consequent spread of knowledge and love of inquiry; the reformation in religion, as well the result of these causes, as itself in turn a cause, amongst others, of what followed; the vast increase of commerce, tending to reduce rank to the level of riches; these, all naturally requiring further degrees of space and room for expansion, may justly be regarded as having concurred principally, though secretly, in the production of those momentous events, which had their beginning in the reign of the first Charles, and their completion in the abdication of the second James.

But while these powerful motives were influencing the minds of men to the assertion of constitutional liberty, Charles, who followed, or rather outran the example of his father, was disposed to extend to the utmost the now practically exploded theory of the divine right of kings.

He forgot, or did not consider, that Henry the Seventh had virtually ceded the question of divine right, by procuring his possession of the crown to be confirmed by act of parliament. He forgot, that queen Elizabeth had procured an act of parliament to declare it high treason to say, that she had not power to dispose of the succession to the crown. From the first day of his reign to that of his death, he seems to have been impressed with the conviction that he was, or ought to be, an absolute monarch.

However unjustifiable many of the acts into which the professed advocates of national liberty were hurried during the progress of the war, it cannot be denied that Charles, from the commencement of his reign to the meeting of the Long Parliament and afterwards, was guilty of a series of grave offences against the rights and liberties of the people whom he had to govern, which no circumstances did or could warrant. It is urged, indeed, that, according to the theory and practice of the English constitution, "the king can do no wrong;" in other words, that he is not responsible for acts of misgovernment; but that his advisers, and they only, are so. Not to insist on the safer and better construction of the adage, "that the king has not the power to do wrong," it may be answered, that it is no less the theory and practice, that his advisers are responsible, and that they shall be amenable to the nation for wrongs committed by them in the king's name, or by the king, through their counsel. What, then, if he shall close up, by his prerogative, the avenues of justice, and screen the offenders from punishment, so perpetuating abuses, and giving wider scope for their arbitrary pro-

ceedings?[a] What remains for redress, but "the great and final reason of nations, the right of resistance?"

It is to be presumed, that a king will not knowingly violate the laws; (should his ministers do so, there is a prescribed remedy;) for the same law that makes him a king, and that gives him the prerogative of a king, confers also on the people the privileges of subjects, to which his prerogative is merely the exception.

But, however notorious the facts, we must not rest on vague generalities. The most obvious violations of national liberty are those which affect the person and property of the subject; a further violation is the denial of a remedy for the wrongs committed against them. In all these instances, Charles was guilty of palpable and aggravated breaches of our constitution, as then existing.

First, he made violent inroads on personal liberty, by arbitrary imprisonments and judgments of the Star-Chamber; but these I barely touch upon, since, however illegal, they had some colour from precedent, and were principally intended to uphold the following excesses.

Secondly, he infringed the rights of property, by imposing and levying illegal taxes, especially those of tonnage and poundage, and of ship-money; and by influencing the judges, who were removable at his pleasure, to give the sanction of law to these illegal impositions.

Thirdly, he violated two laws of Edward III., which

[a] When the parliament, in 1628-9, questioned the officers of the customs for illegally levying the goods of members of parliament, the king sent a message, "that what the customers did, was by his order; and that he would not have his particular interest severed from that of his servants, who acted by his command." *Whitlocke*, 1628, p. 12.

enacted that parliaments should be held at least once in every year; and if these laws were sometimes broken through by succeeding monarchs, yet it was not, as in the case of Charles, with the view of withholding redress for grievances, and of perpetuating abuses.

Notorious as are all these evidences of the exertion of an unconstitutional power, yet there are very many who to this day either will not credit, or will excuse, or palliate, nay, almost justify them. Let, then, Charles's own historian[b] be our guide and rule, so as to obviate any suspicion of exaggeration.

And first for the Star-Chamber. "For the better support of these extraordinary ways," (the levying of ship-money, and enforcing other illegal impositions,) "and to protect the agents and instruments, who must be employed in them, and to discountenance and suppress all bold enquiries and opposers, the council-table and star-chamber enlarge their jurisdiction to a vast extent, 'holding (as Thucydides said of the Athenians) for honourable that which pleased, and for just that which profited;' and being the same persons in several rooms, grew both courts of law to determine right, and courts of revenue to bring money into the treasury: the council-table by proclamations enjoining to the people what was not enjoined by the law, and prohibiting that which was not prohibited; and the star-chamber censuring the breach and disobedience to those proclamations, by very great fines and imprisonment; so that any disrespect to any acts of state, or to

[b] The edition of Clarendon's History referred to throughout is that containing the suppressed passages. Oxford, 1826.

the persons of statesmen, was in no time more penal, and those foundations of right, by which men valued their security, to the apprehension and understanding of wise men, never more in danger to be destroyed."[c]

Secondly, as to the imposition of illegal taxes. The duty of tonnage and poundage, "which is the duty and subsidy paid by the merchant upon trade," had been granted by act of parliament to king Henry the Eighth, though for several years before levied by him without any such authority. This act established the principle, that the duty of tonnage and poundage was not a source of revenue of right vested in the crown, but accruing to it from grant of the parliament. In the first year of each of the four succeeding reigns, an act was passed, granting these duties to the reigning prince for life.[d] It is stated by Clarendon, and by Hume also with a partial concealment of the truth, that these duties were levied by Charles's predecessors, from the period of their accession until an act was passed to confer them. For though it may be allowed that such was the case, yet on each occasion the confirmation or grant of the parliament was sought for and obtained. And indeed it is obvious that, in whatever way the proceeds might be employed, a temporary suspension of the payment of duties on merchandize must have greatly deranged the whole commerce of the country, so that to levy them until parliament should determine on their appropriation, was an act of absolute necessity.

Charles, however, not only did not ask his parliament to

[c] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 121.

[d] 1 Edw. VI. c. 13; 1 Mary, st. ii. c. 18; 1 Eliz. c. 20; 1 James, c. 33.

continue these duties to him; but after having illegally continued to levy them during three years, when the commons had drawn up and were reading a remonstrance "of the undue taking of tonnage and poundage, without the granting of it by parliament,"[e] he interrupted their proceedings, and shortly prorogued their meeting. And when, before their re-assembling, some merchants refused to pay these duties, in obedience to the king's declaration, they were committed to prison; and this, too, expressly against the Petition of Right, to which the king had but lately given his assent.

But beside and beyond this illegal levying of tonnage and poundage, and that which presently followed of ship-money, "In the second parliament there was a mention, and intention declared, of granting five subsidies, a proposition (how contemptible soever in respect of the pressures now every day imposed) scarce ever before heard of in parliament. And that meeting being, upon very unpopular and unplausible reasons, immediately dissolved, these five subsidies were exacted throughout the whole kingdom, with the same rigour as if, in truth, an act had passed to that purpose. Divers gentlemen of prime quality, in several counties of England, were, for refusing to pay the same, committed to prison, with great rigour and extraordinary circumstances. And could it be imagined, that those men would meet again in a free convention of parliament, without a sharp and severe expostulation, and inquisition into their own right, and the power that had imposed upon that right? And yet all these provocations, and many

[e] Whitlocke, 1628, p. 11.

other, almost of as large an extent, produced no other resentment than the Petition of Right, (of no prejudice to the crown,) which was likewise purchased at the price of five subsidies more; and, in a very short time after that supply granted, that parliament was likewise, with strange circumstances of passion on all sides, dissolved."[f]

"Lastly, for a spring and magazine that should have no bottom, and for an everlasting supply of all occasions, a writ was framed in a form of law, and directed to the sheriff of every county of England, 'to provide a ship of war for the king's service, and to send it, amply provided and fitted, by such a day to such a place;' and with that writ were sent to each sheriff instructions, that 'instead of a ship he should levy upon his county such a sum of money, and return the same to the treasurer of the navy for his majesty's use, with directions in what manner he should proceed against such as refused:' and from hence that tax had the denomination of ship-money; a word of a lasting sound in the memory of this kingdom; by which, for some years, really accrued the yearly sum of two hundred thousand pounds to the king's coffers; and it was in truth the only project that was accounted to his own service. And, after the continued receipt of it for about four years together, it was, at last, (upon the refusal of a private gentleman to pay twenty or thirty shillings, as his share,) with great solemnity publicly argued before all the judges of England in the exchequer chamber, and, by much the major part of them, the king's right to impose asserted, and the tax adjudged lawful."[g]

[f] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 10.

[g] Ibid. p. 120.

In order to be the better able to carry out his own arbitrary measures, Charles was under the necessity of breaking down the great fence-work of the liberties of his country, and of dispensing with the use of parliaments. He had, indeed, summoned a parliament to meet in the first, second, and fourth years of his reign; but on each occasion, in the course of a very short time, it was dissolved in displeasure; and on the last of these occasions, with a profession and declaration, that "since for several ill ends the calling again of a parliament was divulged, however his majesty had shewed, by his frequent meeting with his people, his love to the use of parliaments; yet, the late abuse having, for the present, driven his majesty unwillingly out of that course, he shall account it presumption for any to prescribe any time to his majesty for parliaments."[h]

And what were the grievous abuses that were to justify him in laying aside his character of a constitutional king, and assuming that of a despot? His parliaments had ventured to inquire into grievances with which the people were oppressed; especially they had shewn a design of following the constitutional course of calling his ministers to account for illegal acts done in his name:[i] but "he would not have his particular interest severed from that of his servants." And here again we may have recourse to the testimony of Clarendon;[k] who says, "I do not know any formed act of either house, that was not agreeable to the wisdom and justice of great courts, upon those extraordinary occasions. And whoever considers the acts of power and injustice of some of the ministers, in these in-

[h] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 7. [i] Ibid. p. 10. [k] Ibid. p. 9.

tervals of parliament, will not be much scandalized at the warmth and vivacity of those meetings."

For an interval of twelve years Charles adhered to his resolution of dispensing with parliaments. At the end of that time, the troubles, which his own misgovernment of Scotland had provoked, compelled him once more to have recourse to the people, not with any intention to amend the laws and reform the abuses of the past years of misrule; but solely in order to the obtaining supplies, that he might be enabled to effectually subdue that spirit of liberty which was growing to some degree of ripeness in Scotland.

This parliament met on the 5th of April, 1640, and was abruptly dissolved on the 5th of May following.

The only matter of importance that was debated during this brief space, was the joint question of supply and ship-money. The whole nation, almost as one man, had given its voice against the legality of the latter. But Charles would have its legality expressly admitted, and proposed to cede his right to levy it on his own terms. His proposal was, "that if the parliament would grant him twelve subsidies, to be paid in three years, he would then release all his title and pretence to ship-money for the future, in such a manner as his parliament should advise."[1]

Hampden, after a debate of some length, proposed, that the whole question should be put to the house as one, well knowing that it would be rejected. Hyde proposed that the question might be put only "upon giving the king a supply;" but sir Henry Vane, secretary of state, assured the house, that the king would not accept a supply, unless it were such

[1] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 239.

as he demanded. So the house was adjourned till the next day; and on the following morning abruptly dissolved.

On his Scottish subjects, Charles had made an attack of a different character from any to which those in England had been exposed. An arbitrary king had need of the support of an intolerant church. So, with the assistance of Laud, Juxon, and Wren, he endeavoured to enforce upon the Scotch a body of canons and a liturgy, totally at variance with the habits, the religious feelings, and faith of that people; and this in violation of the established religion of the country, and without the sanction of the only authority which had a right to propose any such alteration.

It commonly happens, that those who are themselves the most intolerant, can least of all men brook any encroachment on their own privileges. And accordingly the Presbyterians, (who at the outset professed themselves the stoutest advocates for civil and religious liberty, but who afterwards proved as intolerant as Charles and his faction of prelates,) at once, with the utmost clamour and violence, resisted the attempt to introduce the new liturgy into their church.

It was, as before observed, to procure supplies for subduing the Scotch that the parliament last mentioned was assembled. The nearer approach of peril from the same quarter rendered the calling another parliament necessary, towards the end of the same year.

On the third of November 1640, met the Long Parliament.

If at this juncture we pause awhile, and look back upon the conduct of Charles on the one hand, and of his English subjects on the other, during the former years of his reign, we can hardly be surprised at the calamitous results that

followed. For a period of fifteen years he had conducted his government without any regard to the rights of his people. He had levied what taxes he chose, he had imprisoned whom he would, he had closed the doors of justice against those whom he or his ministers wronged; he had suspended the use of one branch of the legislature, whose existence was as necessary as his own; in short, he had, in almost every conceivable way, (though not perhaps in the utmost degree,) broken through the conditions on which he held his own sovereignty. And for the same period, his subjects in England had submitted to these manifold wrongs, with a patience which, if not regarded as the effect of deeply-rooted prepossessions, or mistaken piety, might seem almost contemptible. Their resistance throughout was limited to unheeded petitions and complaints, or to appeals to the protection of the law, equally unheeded and ineffectual.

During the progress of the war that ensued, many great enormities were doubtless committed by the popular party. The last sad act of Charles's execution can be justified on no plea of imagined necessity. But should we pass the same sentence of condemnation on the excesses committed by a once oppressed, but now triumphant populace, that is merited by a systematic and long continued system of tyranny? tyranny, too, for which there was no pretence or excuse? The people shewed no unwillingness to do their duty to him, but only desired that he should do his duty to them. He had the choice of the best, the wisest, and most able men, that the nation produced, for his servants and advisers. Unhappily, however, his choice was little

guided by the worth, or wisdom, or ability of the persons chosen, but rather by private partiality and affection. It was either his fault or his misfortune that he usually made a bad choice. If his fault, we may lament, but cannot wonder at, the fatal consequences to which it led. If his misfortune, though our regret is increased, yet the result was equally inevitable. Perhaps there was a combination of both. But however this may be, it would have been hard, indeed, that a whole nation should therefore have suffered the loss of every right and privilege which bound them and him together.

When the Long Parliament met, "there was observed a marvellous elated countenance in many of the members before they met together in the house: the same men who six months before were observed to be of very moderate tempers, and to wish that gentle remedies might be applied, without opening the wound too wide, and exposing it to the air, and rather to cure what was amiss than too strictly to make inquisition into the causes and original of the malady, talked now in another dialect, both of things and persons; and said, 'that they must now be of another temper than they were the last parliament; that they must not only sweep the house clean below, but must pull down all the cobwebs which hung in the top and corners, that they might not breed dust, and so make a foul house hereafter; that they had now an opportunity to make their country happy, by removing all grievances, and pulling up the causes of them by the roots, if all men would do their duties.'"[m] This is by no means an exaggerated description

[m] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 298, 9.

of the resolves of the popular party, as in the sequel manifested by their conduct. The question is, was it justifiable? Surely, concession and submission had been tried long enough. And moreover, if we examine with strict impartiality into the conduct of the houses of parliament at their first meeting, and before the king set up his standard at Nottingham, we shall find no act of theirs which the forms and principles of the British constitution did not warrant, or which the emergency did not justify. They did, what the king would never before give them the opportunity to do; they impeached those of his advisers whom they regarded as the authors of their grievances. They passed resolutions, condemning as illegal all those infringements of the national rights,[n] which were, without any doubt, against the law; and, above all, they brought in and carried through an act for a triennial parliament, "giving the people authority to assemble together, if the king failed to call them."[o] They passed acts for taking away the high commission court, and the star-chamber court; for preventing vexatious proceedings touching the order of knighthood; and against ship money; with others of less public interest.

"These acts of parliament," observes Clarendon, "finished and enacted in the time we speak of, besides the quitting the long used right of laying impositions upon foreign trade, in the preamble of the bill for tonnage and poundage, and besides that fatal bill for the continuance of this parliament, will be acknowledged, by an incorrupted posterity, to be everlasting monuments of the king's princely and fatherly affection to his people; and such an obligation

[n] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 367.

[o] Ibid. p. 504.

of repose and trust from his majesty in the hearts of his subjects, that no expressions of piety, duty, and confidence from them, could have been more than a sufficient return on their parts."

Had these concessions, if they may be called such, been voluntarily made by Charles at the beginning of his reign, the noble historian's conclusion would have been good, and Charles had been an eminent example of princely liberality. But as he had, for a series of years, unlawfully done the very acts which these laws were intended to prevent for the future, we come very near the conclusion, that little or no repose or trust could be placed in him by his subjects, and that but small expressions of duty, none of confidence, could be expected from them. And doubtless so they felt. "Hence, when the popular party had provided sufficient checks for the people against the king, they were obliged to devise fresh ones against king Charles."[p] This was most clearly shewn in their endeavour to secure to themselves the control of the militia of the kingdom; and this, be it remembered, not by force, but by an act to be passed with the concurrence of the whole legislature. Had he been content to uphold his prerogative, and refused his assent to such a bill, whatever violent measures the parliament might have had recourse to, he would have been excused in the judgment of all thinking men. But while they were endeavouring by legal and constitutional methods to narrow the limits of his prerogative, and to extend and secure their own privileges, it was his misfortune ever to lead the way in positive acts of wrong.

[p] Lord John Russell, on the English Constitution, p. 84.

It is almost universally admitted, that his attempt to seize the five members of the commons in the house itself was the commencement of the war: it was certainly the very act which immediately led to it. His boasted concessions were nothing worth, if such a power were to be assumed. From that moment, compromise was impossible, resistance was indispensable. It is probable, indeed, that the period had now arrived, at which an equitable agreement between the claims of prerogative on the one hand, and privilege on the other, was no longer practicable. But this last act of Charles's, not excused by his friends, but palliated as only indiscreet and ill-judged, impressed the party that opposed him with the belief that all his concessions were insincere; and that whenever he should have the power to resume his lost authority, he would not hesitate or fail to do so. And this belief is warranted by his subsequent conduct. When his arms were, during the first years of the war, successful, his concessions were few and scanty: when defeated, his promises were large; but his mental reservations, brought to light by the capture and publication of his confidential correspondence, were as large as his promises. And his duplicity practised towards, and at length detected by, Cromwell, immediately led to that death which the nation did not wish for, nor its wrongs require.

LETTERS,

ETC.

COLONEL IRETON TO OLIVER CROMWELL.

SIR,—Having a business of importance, which I hold myself bound to impart to those that command me, and (amongst them) to yourself, and hearing from the army you were gone to London, I take the opportunity of presenting it to you there, that by you the same may be represented to the members of both Houses, that are of the committee of both kingdoms, and by them to the Houses, as shall appear seasonable.

It is this: Last night late there came from Oxford to my quarter some officers, late of the king's party, with passes from the General[a] to go beyond sea, (most of them being of the forty allowed, upon the treaty at Truro, first to go to the king.) Two of them did severally declare to me, (as by direction from the king and divers English about him,) to this effect; That the king had several offers

[a] Fairfax.

made to him of considerable assistance [b] to declare for him, upon some conditions, (not mentioning nor acknowledging to know the conditions, nor positively the parties;) that there were divers solicitors now pressing him to a present resolution, and his condition required the same; but that the king, and most of the English about him, were averse to such offers, (as ruinous or dangerous to the kingdom,) and inclined (before any other way) to cast himself upon the parliament and people of England, and (for that purpose) was desirous (without further capitulation) to come in to the General, or whither else the parliament would have him, and at once to deliver up all his garrisons and disband his forces, if only he might be assured to live and continue king still, without being deposed for aught past; that (to avoid all jealousy or opportunity of his making a further party or factions) he would either come to London or not, (as the parliament pleased,) or go to any place in the kingdom, whither the parliament would have him, stay where they would, have no officers about him, nor resort to him, but whom they would assign; save only the duke of Richmond, my lords of Hertford, Southampton, Lindsay, Mr. Ashburnham, and some few others, (whose names I

[b] The assistance alluded to is probably that proposed by the French minister, cardinal Mazarine, of which some account is to be found in Clarendon, b. x. vol. v. p. 376, &c.

remember not,) whom he desired for society only, and not to be in power or place about him.

They pretended necessity for a speedy resolution herein, (otherwise the king would be precipitate upon desperate resolutions, to try for safety otherways;) that for prevention thereof, they were expected to return to Oxford this morning, with but my opinion, whether the king might rationally expect to be thus received; else (should they go on without any return) it would be conceived hopeless. I would not suffer either of them to go back or make return, nor admit the least further intercourse or communication about it; neither would I assume to give my sense of the thing, but instead thereof, gave them a copy of the parliament's declaration,[c] (as the clearest assurance of their intentions,) and told one of them, I would (according to my duty) acquaint my General and superior officers with what was proposed, and leave them to impart it to those we serve. Wherein (wishing only a tenderness of the king's honour in the carriage of it, and fearing some danger in long suspension and their utter silence) they did acquiesce. I have already sent an express

[c] Votes had passed the two Houses, March 31 preceding, providing for the safe custody of the king, in case he should come to London, or within the city lines. It is not improbable, as intimated in a letter, subsequently inserted, from Sancroft to his father, that the ruling party were apprehensive that the presence of the king in London might occasion a re-action in his favour. See *Clarendon*, vol. v. p. 340, &c.

to impart it to the General, and now this to you for the purpose above; wherein having faithfully declared the naked truth, and to the best of my understanding discharged my duty, I leave the issues to the good pleasure of the Lord, and rest

Your most humble servant,

H. IRETON.

April 23, 1646.

DR. HOLDSWORTH[a] TO MR. SANCROFT.

LOVING SIR,—The bearer hereof, Mr. Venn, needs no recommendation, yet my obligations to his love are such as bind me even to superfluities. He comes with this only to bring him as an oblation, and not without his mother's consent, who is also a partner in the journey. You will find him a friendly acquaintance, square to perform his promises, and noble also

[a] Holdsworth was master of Emanuel college, Cambridge, and at the commencement of the war vice-chancellor of that university; but having caused some of the king's declarations, which had been printed at York, to be reprinted at Cambridge, and also having preached a sermon that was offensive to the parliament, he was compelled to quit Cambridge, and after some time was committed to the Tower. How long his imprisonment continued is unknown. His correspondence with Sancroft shews that his interest in the welfare of his college was unabated. He died in 1649.

to exceed them. I am sure, by God's blessing, the pupil will be happy in you, and I doubt not but yourself also will be as well pleased with your pupil, so that neither shall have cause to repent. I wish I could have come along with them; but that being denied, I must send my best wishes after them, and not only my wishes but my prayers. To God's grace I betake you, and, in the fulness of affection, I rest

Your assured friend,
RI. HOLDSWORTH.

April 24, 1646.

FROM THE PARLIAMENTARY AGENT IN FRANCE, R. AUGIER, TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—The ship, the Nicholas of Southampton, that you were pleased to recommend unto me formerly, having been confiscated with all her dependences by an arrest given in the presence of the chancellor, I have so highly represented that the parliament would grant letters of reprisal to the interested, as soon as it should come to their knowledge, that I hindered the delivering thereof, all Mr. Jermyn and others' instances, who pretended to get benefit by, notwithstanding.

At last the Prince of Wales is at Jersey.[c] The

[c] The prince left Scilly for Jersey April 16th, and on the

queen his mother doth send Mr. Jermyn's brother, captain Cooke, and some others, to fetch him hither, where he will expect what will be the king his father's success. Monday last, the said queen received intelligence he would go out of Oxford, in spite of his enemies, to join the Scots, as being agreed with them; many do flatter themselves, as if the said prince would be sent into Scotland to raise again Montrose's party, in case the king could not do it himself.

In a word, there are here too many bigots and others who desire it, and do contribute thereunto. The good intelligence between the parliaments of both kingdoms, and a speedy resolution and vigour, are the only means to overthrow their plots. The offers made lately by the emperor to this crown for a general peace, (pressed by Bavaria, that is, by Rome and all the Jesuits,) are full of so many restrictions, that they are answered here only with general terms to get time to the end of this campaign, for which all is making ready for the action. This court goes for a fortnight to Chantilly, ten leagues off upon the way

following day reached the latter place. The queen was most anxious for his removal to Paris; but the prince's council, unwilling to put the heir apparent into the power of the French, and fully relying on the strength of Jersey, so strongly opposed this plan, that at length, when the prince resolved on leaving Jersey for France, his whole council, with the exception of lord Colepepper, refused to accompany him thither. See *Clarend.* vol. v. p. 359, &c.

of Picardy, thereby to encourage the nobility to march thither.

Cardinal Mazarine will follow, but not the council.

By the treaty of league of this crown, renewed for two years with the States of Holland, they are agreed of twelve hundred thousand livres for the ordinary yearly, but not yet for the extraordinary, nor consequently for the design of the campaign. They are offered four hundred thousand livres, but it is believed they will have a million before they agree to the design, by means whereof they make sure to get Dunkirk in a short time.

The great number of royalists fled to Jersey, which amounts to about three thousand, put in fear those of Guernsey of some attempt upon their island.

The king of Spain is come to Pampelona, fearing some design of the French upon Navarre. The Spaniards have taken terms in Catalonia, over-against Balagnieri. Genoa gives passages upon their land to the French troops under prince Thomas, and free access into their harbours (Genoa itself excepted) to the fleet gone from Toulon under the duke of Breza. Their pretence is to go against the open enemies of the crown of France.

These ministers do make as yet no kind of justice unto us upon our grievances. I write particularly thereupon unto Mr. Giles Green.

Mr. Buchanan, to whom I left a letter of attorney, when I passed from London, for to receive my pay-

ments, having put himself into some troubles, as I hear, I send a new letter of attorney to my wife for another, who will trouble you hereafter for my interest, upon the liberty your good will hath given,

Sir, to your most humble and obedient servant,

R. AUGIER.

Paris, May 4, } 1646.
April 24, }

COLONELS RAINSBOROUGH AND FLEETWOOD TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—Yesterday morning, secretary Nicholas (as by the king's command) desired colonel Rainsborough's pass for the earls of Lindsay and Southampton, sir William Fleetwood, and Mr. John Ashburnham, to come and treat with him, and any else, for surrender of Woodstock manor. Whereupon colonel Rainsborough sent for colonel Fleetwood, major Disborough, and major Harrison, to be present. After much debate, the earl of Southampton desired to propose what (he thought) might not only give us the possession of this, but other garrisons. We said, if what he had to offer was within our capacity, we should willingly hear. And he conceived it was; namely, that, forasmuch as the parliament had declared a saving to the king's person and his honour, if therefore we (accordingly) would engage ourselves for performance thereof, to-wit, that his person may

be defended from violence, and continue king; then the king would come into our quarters, (there to remain, or where else you please to direct,) and do what you should require of him. We replied, we could only (and that was our duty) signify to you their offer.

In fine, we agreed for surrender of the manor, upon conditions this bearer can fully acquaint you, who was present at the whole. We beseech you give us your commands touching the premises; wherein, and in all things to our power, none shall more faithfully endeavour your service than,

Sir, your most humble and faithful servants,

THOMAS RAINSBOROUGH,
CHARLES FLEETWOOD.

April 26, 1646.

COLONEL PAYNE TO MAJOR-GENERAL BROWN.[r]

HON. SIR,—I have intelligence from others, that the king went this morning by two o'clock towards London;[s] that the gates were kept close; and having

[r] Commander of the garrison at Abingdon.

[s] Early in the morning of the 27th April, the king left Oxford, attended only by Mr. Ashburnham and one Hudson; his council not knowing whether he would go to the Scottish army, or get privately into London, and lie there concealed, till he could determine on what was his best course. Nine days

demanded the reason of the extraordinary step they took, it was answered, It concerned a kingdom, and that there would be stormy doings at London; for if the lord mayor proved an honest man, it would be very well for their side, and that we should see one half of the parliament sitting at Northampton, and the other half in London; and that if any did refuse to yield to the king, the rest would force them to it. These things being of so high concernment, I held it my duty speedily to acquaint your honour therewith, well knowing your wisdom can discern how to make a true use hereof. I shall not at present be further tedious, only take leave, and rest,

SIR, your honour's faithful servant,

GEO. PAYNE.

Abingdon, April 27, 1646.
eleven at night.

The party that told me the intelligence above written, thinks he went disguised to London, and that he made use of sir Tho. Fairfax's seal, which they have gotten cut in Oxford.

I sent by a former, wherein I acquainted your honour, that on Saturday last I commanded forth a party toward Hincksey, and another to Kennington;

elapsed before even his friends knew where he was. *Clarend.* vol. v. p. 394. But in a letter, dated April 13, from the king to the marquis of Ormond, he says, "We have resolved to put ourselves to the hazard of passing into the Scots' army, now lying before Newark." *Rushworth*, Hist. Coll.

we took seventy-eight prisoners, a hundred belts of bandoleers, and on Sunday I took Shepherd the parson of Sutton.

ROBERT RUSSELL TO LORD WARWICK, GOVERNOR OF GUERNSEY, &c.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I beseech your lordship's pardon of my presumption, and to give me leave to inform your lordship, that since the sealing of my two former, I have been this morning credibly informed that the prince of Wales arrived at Jersey the 26th April instant, and with him six hundred men, (together with those there before,) being considerable for a design against us. I beseech your lordship to take this into your honourable consideration; as also the particulars of my two former inclosed, (which cross wind and weather hath prevented from already kissing your lordship's hands,) and to endeavour that assistance of shipping be sent with all speed.

I now send the Dove express to admiral Batten, in the west, to request his assistance; which (if he cannot give assistance himself) I beseech your lordship's procurement of an order to him for that purpose. And for my part, nothing shall be wanting, either of care or resolution, which may conduce to the preservation of my trust.

I shall not further presume, but only, congratu-

lating your lordship's happy and honourable marriage, humbly rest

Your lordship's most humble and faithful servant,

ROB. RUSSELL.

Guernsey, April 28, 1646.

COL. PAYNE TO MAJOR-GEN. BROWN.

HON. SIR,—The news of the king's going to London is constantly confirmed by all that come from Oxford; that he went out disguised in a montero and a hat upon it; that sir Thomas Glemham[h] at his parting bid him "Farewell Harry," by which name it seems he goes. There went with him only the earl of Southampton, Dr. King, and Mr. Ashburnham;[i] that presently after his going out there was a great meeting in Oxford. Sir Thomas got some blows amongst the rout, and escaped narrowly with his life two or three times; Rupert and Maurice have both disbanded; the governor is fain to keep a strong guard about

[h] Governor of Oxford.

[i] Clarendon says, the king left Oxford attended only by Mr. Ashburnham and one Hudson. Rushworth also says, that the king went out of Oxford "in company only of Dr. Hudson, a divine, and Mr. John Ashburnham, and rode as servant to the latter, with a cloak-bag behind him." From a subsequent letter, however, it appears that he reached Newark attended by three others, (post, p. 20,) of whom Hudson was certainly one, as appears from a letter written by Hudson himself, and inserted hereafter.

him: their hopes are, he will be entertained in the city; and talk much of the lord mayor, (but I hope it is only their surmises,) that he is to keep the king private at his house, and that he hath made a party in the city for the king. I believe they would fain have something work to set the city together by the ears, by casting aspersions upon my lord mayor, who, I doubt not, hath better and more durable reputation and honour in London than to be blasted by their slander. I thought it my duty to acquaint your honour with these particulars, reserving it to your wisdom to make use of it as you see occasion, it being the common report at Oxford, what I have now written.

The treasurer came in safe the last night. Sir Thomas Fairfax continues still at Newbury: the plague increases much in Abingdon; and I have writ two or three times to colonel Rainsborough, to take those soldiers which were appointed him, but yet he sends not for them; for if he would block up the south side of Oxford, I should spare them well enough. Thus giving your honour my humble thanks for those many kind expressions I have been afforded from your honour, desiring still to make it my aim to appear myself faithful, I humbly take leave; and rest your honour's most humble and grateful servant,

GEO. PAYNE.

Abingdon, April 29, 1646.

We have very good hopes that it will please God to stay it here. The university is not dissolved; no college stirs, but Christ's, in whose vicinage the infection is. We are the next to them, but yet our lads budge not, being more courageous than ever I knew them in the like danger. I hope God will preserve us, and keep us together; we promise ourselves the prayers of all our friends. I think I shall not stir unless we all break in pieces, and then, if I come not immediately to Fresinfield, I shall carefully acquaint you with my motions. My lord of Exeter parted hence yesterday. He had been here some ten days in a course of physic, rather preventive and anniversary, than from any present necessity. I was with him to take my leave of him, and he sent me away, as he used to do, fuller of hopes of a good issue of these troubles than I went thither. I had two letters from the good doctor[m] last week; the last from Cassalton in Surry, whither he is retired to refresh himself. We cannot yet with leave enjoy him here, though I dare still hope the time will be when he shall not come to us as a stranger to lodge for a night, but as the soul and life of this body, which hath been in a fainting and swooning condition ever since he was by violent hands snatched from us.

The news was strong upon the exchange on Friday, that the king, having escaped out of Oxford

[m] Holdsworth.

in a disguise, was surprised, but within two hours it was cried down again. On Saturday, a post came hither with his mouth full of it; but upon search, he was found to have a blister on his tongue. Upon discourse with those that I think understand much in the present state of affairs, I think it probable that the king is still in Oxford; that his resolution is, upon Fairfax's approach, without much disputing to give up himself into his hands and to go for London. The faction that hath the vogue at Westminster fear nothing more than that; they know not what to do with him if he comes to London; his presence will attract hearts, and animate many of the members to appear for him with open face, who now mask under a vizor, and sigh to see a party, they like not, carry all before them. To say nothing in the meantime, that the late breaches with the synod, Scots, and city, have much disposed men's minds to look back from whence they are departed; and informs them sufficiently that the men are not impeccable and infallible, whom they have looked upon as such all this while.

The truth is, men begin to grow weary, and it is time; and I hope the fatal giddiness that hath possessed us all this while, will have at least this good in it, that it will bring us back at last to the point where we began, otherwise the round would not be perfected. Thus much is certain, ever since the voting down of the synod's and city's petition,

the assembly-men have prayed very zealously for his majesty, and began to fumble and botch in their mention of the parliament, that God would shew them what a horrible sin it is to break covenant with him, &c.; this was Mr. Calamy's phrase: and last Sunday, Mr. Vines, new master of Pembroke hall, preaching at St. Mary's, could afford them no more but "that God would direct them in the right way, and take them off from self ends." And now I have mentioned him, I'll give you a touch or two of his sermon. The first shall be a glance at the commissioners. "Certainly," saith he, "the church had a power of jurisdiction in it before the supreme magistrate was Christian; and why it should lose that under Constantine which it had under Nero, I know not. Yet there is a generation who tell you, you must only meddle with the pot of manna, but the rod of Aaron doth not become your hands."

His next was concerning sects; (his text was 2 Cor. xi. 3.) "The Apostle," saith he, "is for simplicity; but here is a multiplicity among us; the swarm is up, 'tis risen, and falls in so many parts, that I fear it will never be brought again within the compass of one hive, within the pale of one church." But I shall make my repetition too long for the sermon: I am sure it was three quarters of an hour, and yet he read it all, two great faults in others, but in an assembly-man no more but peccadilloes. So much for him.

Sir, I had not been so impertinently tedious, but

that I fear the accession of your gout gives you too much leisure to listen to this chatter. My humble duty to yourself, and yourself,[m] my hearty love to my brothers and sisters, my humble service to Mr. Goodgefield, Mr. Tate, and the rest of my friends.

I hope the next messenger brings me news of a son at Mendham; God grant it.

I am, Sir, your dutiful son,

W. S.

May 4, 1646.

LIEUT.-GENERAL POYNTZ TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—The most eminent and weighty relation I have to communicate, and that which almost blots out all other proceedings here, is, that the king came this morning to Southwell, and is since conveyed by a troop of the Scots, but which way we cannot as yet find out. I have sent out parties for the purpose; and as occasion happens I shall be further troublesome. If this business proves not a hinderance, I shall send you the news of this town surrendered within few days. In the meantime, I conceive it of high consequence to give you this relation; and remain,

Sir, your most true servant,

Sedenham Poyntz.

Haste, Haste.

The Leaguer [at Newark,]
May 5, 1646.

[m] It is thus in the original. He probably means his mother.

FROM THE LEAGUER AT NEWARK TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—We were this morning about ten of the clock credibly informed, that the king with three others came in great speed this morning about seven of the clock to Southwell, and went to the house of Mons. Montrevil,[n] the French agent: about twelve this day, two of the Scottish commissioners brought us a letter, a copy whereof is here inclosed; the two commissioners presently returned: and in this surprise we could not for the present think further than to desire of them he might not remove, which they approved of; and that we might speedily meet the rest of them at Farnton, which was consented unto; and we are now going thither accordingly, and shall immediately advertise you of our further proceedings; and do beseech to know your pleasure, with all possible speed, how we shall direct and guide ourselves herein.

Your humble servants,

W. Pierrepont, W. Armyne.
Edw. Ayscoghe.
Antho. Irby.
Tho. Hatchen.

Haste, Haste.

From Col. Rosseter's tent at the Leaguer before Newark.
May 5, 1646.

[n] Montrevil had been sent by the court of France to negotiate a peace between the king and the Scots. On the first of April he had written to the king, assuring him of the friendly dispositions of the Scots towards him, and of personal safety

SIR THO. FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—Since your order of the last day of April, for the restraint of any persons coming out of Oxford, prince Rupert hath sent to me, desiring my pass to come out into any of our quarters, and there to stay till the pleasure of the parliament be known concerning him. Here are also sir John Cansfield and sir George Strode, who had passes to come out of Oxford for four or five days before the date of that order, and do desire leave and passes to go beyond seas, being willing to engage themselves according to the negative oath, and not to come into England again without the parliament's leave. I have not granted their desires, nor given any certain resolution in any of these particulars; but thought it my duty to represent them to the consideration of the parliament, to which I leave them, and remain

Your most humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Headington,
May 5, 1646.

LORD SAVILE TO THE SPEAKER.

After a long imprisonment at Oxford, I came to

and kingly respect, if he would put himself into their army. In a few days he had occasion to retract this pressing invitation; but his messenger was taken prisoner on his journey, and was unable to reach Oxford before the king had left for Newark.

London by a pass from the earl of Essex, and was made a prisoner at my coming hither; at which time I did impart unto the lord viscount Say° some things which I had to declare unto him, for the advantage of the parliament. It was thereupon ordered by the committee of both kingdoms, that a sub-committee should be named, to take the information of what shall be propounded; which sub-committee gave me power and authority to treat at Oxford about the same, I engaging myself (for the more clear dealing) to communicate unto them the substance of such letters and returns as I received from thence; but that the knowledge of the particular names, who writ the same, should not be pressed to their prejudice who gave the intelligence. During that time I received a letter from an honourable person, who, in great secrecy and caution to myself, writ unto me to take notice that Mr. Hollis was a correspondent with my lord Digby, which was the same letter that the two honourable houses of parliament enjoined me to declare who writ it, and which was both delivered

° Lord Savile, created earl of Sussex by Charles I., proved himself a traitor to both parties. He first sided with the parliament, then with the king, and again went over to the parliament. This letter refers to an accusation brought by him against Whitlocke and Hollis, which he attempted to support by a letter from an unknown correspondent at Oxford. He was for a long time imprisoned in the tower, but allowed to compound in October of this year. See *Whitlocke, July* 1645, *and Oct.* 8, 1646.

and deciphered in the presence of the lady Temple, in whose house I was then a prisoner. I considered the great honour of the person who writ it; how far from levity, and rash censure in matters of least consequence; how great means they had at the time, more than others, to know such secrets; what probabilities I had in my own secret thoughts, to induce me to look upon it as a thing that might possibly be so; especially knowing that the said honourable person, who writ the same, had a great desire to be admitted to come to London, and to do something that might deserve the parliament's favour to them; and lastly, I considered that I was engaged in honour to reveal the substance of all intelligence which I received from Oxford, being confident, on the other part, that I should not be pressed to name the person, as I was assured; upon all which considerations, the lord Say and Mr. Solicitor were made acquainted with the substance of the said letter; and the lord Say (as I remember) came unto me in person the same night, unto whom I declared, that by reason of that tie of honour which was upon me, I could not avoid the imparting of such an intelligence to him, which I received from Oxford; but, withal, that I knew his lordship understood very well that such a letter, without further proof, was not sufficient to call in question the reputation of a meaner person than a member of the parliament, unless it could be driven home by further proofs, which I assured him I would

endeavour to do. His lordship was of the same opinion, saying, "God forbid, that a bare letter should have the power to ruin any person here without any proof; for then who could be safe?" and concluded with me, that unless further proof could be made of it, it should go no further. I did thereupon write unto the authors of the letter, and did use the best arguments I could to persuade them to come up hither; and that if the said intelligence aforesaid were well grounded, I could assure them that it would be reckoned here as a real and great service, and the best means I knew to procure the favour which I presumed they desired; who thereupon, as I have heard, hath used all possible means to procure leave to come, but could not obtain it. And my imprisonment for this letter afterwards happening, shut up all further hope.

The person who writ this letter was the duchess of Buckingham; and I am confident that when this honourable house shall consider, that being a lady, and of great honour and prudence, (setting aside the unfortunate change of her religion lately made,) a person so near allied to me in blood, and more in the bonds and obligations of ancient friendship, and that this secret was sent unto me as a caution only for my own private comportment, you will not, I hope, think it strange that I have hitherto suffered so much, (even your displeasure,) rather than to ruin or prejudice such a trust. And truly but that I have some hope

that the condition of the present times may be less prejudicial to her, than if formerly revealed, and that there can be nothing worse to me, in this desperate condition of health that I am in, than to die in your displeasure, and in disobedience to that court that I have in all my life so much honoured, I do not know any thing I would not have further suffered, rather than to have brought upon me an infamy of that nature that I most abhorred. For these reasons, I hope you will be pleased to pardon my former temporal disobedience; and chiefly that because this delay was at first made to do you greater service, and to the end to make a clearer proof, and not out of any wilful obstinacy to disobey your commands; and that you will esteem the irrecoverable ruin of my health, contracted by this imprisonment, as a sufficient amends for my unfortunate fault.

SAVILE.

[May 5, 1646.]

LORD SAVILE TO COLONEL MARTIN.

SIR,—Though I have not the honour to have so much particular acquaintance with you as I desire, yet I have such a general belief of you, as of a gentleman that will not in any way decline the doing of a just thing in relief of the horror and misery of an innocent person.

In which confidence I am bold to desire your fa-

vour, as to present these two inclosed papers to the honourable house of commons; the one containing an humble petition of mine, for the vindication of my wounded honour, in a business only concerning their service; and the other a faithful declaration, in obedience to their own commands, of a matter which hath hitherto made me unfortunate in their displeasures; in doing of which, as you shall do nothing but what (as I humbly conceive) is but common justice, so you shall in particular much oblige

Your most humble servant,

Jo. Savile.

Tower, May 5, 1646.

MR. RUSHWORTH TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—This day, the General received a letter from the house of peers, desiring him to send the duke of Richmond and earl of Lindsay to Windsor castle, in the custody of the gentleman usher of the house of peers; who had, before he came to the General, served the order on the two lords, requiring their obedience, and afterwards came to the General for a convoy for them. This being the first order the General received from either house of parliament concerning these lords, he cannot well avoid obedience; and yet is very tender in a thing of this nature, lest it be ill taken by the house of commons. If their order had come first, (if any was made to be sent to the General,)

it had readily been put in execution. A general report there was, the house of commons had ordered them to Warwick castle,[p] but never any order came; and we since understand it was sent to the lords, and for want of their concurrence rests there.

In a case of this nature, where each house endeavours a contrary course, the General desires to be advised what to do; and particularly from yourself, (for which end this messenger is sent in all haste to you,) and desires your opinion by him; he will be here on Monday again. You understand the state of the business: he would not willingly neglect the house of peers' order, coming first to him; and, on the other side, would not be wanting in his duty to the house of commons. As you see cause, you may please to acquaint the house, and excuse the General.

We go on very well in the siege:[q] spade and shovel are come to Reading; we shall now quickly finish the leaguer, and fall to approaches. About Tuesday, a summons will go in: we hope of a compliance. If once the leaguer be finished, and they refuse, we can draw off eight thousand horse and foot, and besiege Oxford besides.

Your humble servant,

Jo. Rushworth.

May 9, twelve at night.

[p] See Whitlocke, April 30, 1646.

[q] Of Wallingford.

COLONEL WHALEY TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—I can now tell you, blessed be God, we are possessed of Banbury Castle; we exceedingly rejoice at it, for I dare confidently affirm there are not many stronger holds in England. Sir Wm. Compton[r] yesterday marched out with about four hundred and sixty officers and soldiers, disbanded his regiment some two miles from Banbury; they had passes to their several homes. We had in the castle, with musquet barrels, six hundred arms, eleven pieces of ordnance, ten barrels of powder, eight foot and one horse colours: there is great store of all manner of provision; we only fell short in our expectation for money, we had but £49, besides £40 worth of plate.

Sir, I am your most humble and faithful servant,

Edw. Whaley.

Banbury, May 9, 1646.

MR. SANCROFT TO HIS FATHER.

Sir,—Hearing of Mr. Borrett's being in town, I could not but desire to see him, in regard of the good understanding betwixt you and his father, Mr. I. Borrett of Studhaugh. After I saw him, I prevailed with him to trouble himself with this packet to you. I know you will be desirous to hear how we do here in regard of the sickness. God be praised, there is none dead either here or at the Green since

[r] Governor of Banbury.

I wrote last. On Saturday there was some fear of Dr. Bainbrigg's family: a servant of his was taken with a great swelling under her ear, and much was talked, and they kept from church on Sunday, but all is well there: the occasion was a plaster applied for the tooth-ache, which drew thither that extraordinary flux of humours. Our fear is rather of another place.

In that same yard where the nurse lived, (who hath had two children died,) there is a poor woman, who with her child hath been shut up ever since these three days; she hath been sick, (as she pretends only of the head-ache,) but we fear the worst. If this proves well, though I would not be secure, yet I hope we are safe. The university continues as it was; no dissolution. God preserve us safe together.

For the public news, I will tell you what is talked upon the exchange. I knew you were amazed as well as we to hear of the king's last action. We had some fellows at the Leaguer at Newark about the time, others that came from London last Saturday. What I hear amongst them is thus much: His majesty, upon his coming in and reception by the Scots, proffered them Newark if they would protect him; for, saith he, there is an Independent party that sways all above, who will cut your throat and mine too if they can prevail. The Scots replied, that of late they had lain under many misapprehensions; and they were loth to give any further ground of jealousy, and therefore refused to accept the town.

Hereupon, say some, it was delivered to the English; say others, to neither; but the works slighted by the garrison itself, the king signing the warrant for the doing of it. On Wednesday last came the news to London that the king was come in. The vigilant, active, and Independent party, who stand always watching their advantage, were at the house, and presently fell a voting that the king should be carried as a prisoner of war to Warwick castle. The next morning this vote is carried up to the lords for concurrence: they storm; send down for a conference; have it; Essex manageth it, and makes a large harangue: that they were bound by their covenant to defend the king's just rights; that they had hitherto fought for that end to remove his evil counsellors; he had now deserted them, and freely offered himself; and therefore nothing now to be done but to disband the armies and conclude a peace; and that rather than they would consent (he spoke in the name of the lords) to make the king a prisoner, they would all die in the place. Sir Philip Stapleton seconded him with another as resolute. And now the commons were a full house too, and vote counter to the last night's resolve, and confess themselves ashamed of the action. They are the words of a parliament-man to him that told me.

All the expectation now is, what the Scots will do. Some say they are removed northward with the king as far as Doncaster. Not so far, say others, but only

to get fresh quarters. All men's eyes are upon them, to see what course they will take; for that is the hinge upon which all turns: if they stand firm with the parliament, as is not doubted they will, we shall have peace and presbytery. The Independent is exceedingly crest-fallen, and, if the Scots continue their fair correspondence, is like to lose all; for then the parliament will concur with the presbyters; and though the other part desire much to fight the Scots, yet they will want the name of the parliament to give countenance to the action.

If any thing make the Scots and parliament break, it will be the business of the commissioners. The London ministers preach broadly against them. Mr. Calamy tells the story of the seven sons of Sceva the Jew, and applies it thus: "Pastors we know, and elders we know; but commissioners, who are ye?" Jenkins of Christ Church (he that told the parliament, when he preached before them, that they had brought us out of Babylon, and left us in Babel) tells the passage of the emperor H. VII., that was poisoned in the sacramental bread. "So," saith he, "these men poison Christ's own disciples, the presbytery, that is good and holy; but, commissioners, here is the poison, take hold of it." A third saith publicly, he hopes rather to see the streets run with blood, than the commissioners continue. The city, too, being set on by some of the house, are putting forth a remonstrance in defence of the synod, against some

particular persons in the lower house, and some of their proceedings. There will be such passages as these: "Mr. H. Martin, a man expelled the house for speaking treason, and shuffled in again we know not how; one that never speaks in the house but when he is drunk, and yet speaks every day; yet being an Independent, is thought the only fit man to present the queries about *Jus divinum* to the synod. Mr. K. Fiennes, one that forfeited his life to justice, at a council of war, for basely betraying Bristol," &c.; and so of the rest.

I have filled my paper, and I fear tried your patience. My humble duty to yourself and my mother. My love and respects to all.

I am, sir, your obedient son,

W. S.

May 11, 1646.
Immanuel Coll.

THE AGENT* TO THE COMMITTEE OF BOTH KINGDOMS, IN PARIS, TO THE SPEAKER.

[WRITTEN IN CIPHER.]

SIR,—The news of the king's coming in to the Scots army before Newark, which came in this

* Augier was the accredited agent of the parliament in France; the writer of this and other letters in cipher seems to have been a secret agent employed by the committee of both kingdoms, that is, England and Scotland. The letters are for the most part deciphered. Where that is the case, the cipher is omitted, and the words put in brackets.

week's letters, was brought to [the queen] three days before the arrival of them, viz. on Monday last, by an express messenger sent from thence to her by [the king;] the which messenger, that he might pass freely through and out of England, had a pass of General Leven. The Friday before, she had also received news of Ireland, to her great contentment, by letters of [Digby,] out of the isle of Jersey, the which were followed presently by himself in person; and he arrived on Monday last in the morning at St. Germains, from whence yesterday he came up to Paris. He relateth, that the peace being now absolutely concluded between the king and the Irish, they have in the field an army of thirty thousand men, to be disposed of according to [the king's] own desire, and as they shall be directed by the marquis of Ormond, whom they have chosen generalissimo, and the earl of Clanrickard, his lieutenant-general; and that it was resolved, that twelve thousand of them should with Glamorgan be sent into Scotland, there to join with Montrose, and so jointly with him to pass into England. He addeth further, that the Scotch forces in Ulster were about to conform themselves to this peace; and having compounded with the Irish, to quit the country and to return into Scotland, the marquis of Argyle being himself come over for that purpose, and for to fetch them away into Scotland, to be employed from thence, together with Montrose, for the king's service against England.

[The French] court being still in Picardy, [Jermyn] went down to them from St. Germains, on Wednesday last, in a coach with six horses, to carry them this news, knowing it would be most welcome to them, especially that of the rupture between the [English] and the [Scots,] as being not only a thing they have extremely desired, but in a manner their own work; they having mainly endeavoured it, and sent express ministers for that purpose; who partly by negotiating and kindling the distempers, which from time to time have been produced upon several occasions, but much more by corrupting the great ones, for which end great store of gold went with them, (of all which things I have in former letters given you timely notice,) might induce the [Scots] nation to break with the [English,] thereby to continue the [wars in England,] the end whereof they extremely apprehended as that which would make the power of that monarchy too redoubtable. And because they had promised to [the queen,] that whensoever the [Scots,] breaking with [the parliament of England,] should declare for the [king,] they would then embrace his cause, and give him some notable assistance, (whereof also I have given you notice heretofore.) The main subject of [Jermyn's] going to [the French court,] is to solicit them for the performance of this their promise, and especially to urge them for a succour of two or three thousand horse; wherein as he is not likely to speed, nor to obtain any

part of their [forces] during this summer, (they being absolutely bent to prosecute their own advantages in Flanders with their utmost power;) so if [the Scots] keep any footing [in England] until the [forces] return out of [the field,] they will then, without all doubt, afford them very considerable aids both of men and of provisions, not for the good will they bear to that nation, (although their ancient allies,) or to [the king,] but to serve their own turn out of them, and by their means to keep [England] still in combustion.

The [Irish] are very desirous to have the [prince] with them, and it was for that cause that [Digby] came out of Ireland to the Scillies, thinking to have found him there still, and from thence to Jersey; the [Irish] having furnished him for that voyage with two lusty frigates, manned with a hundred musqueteers, and good store of ordnance, and bestowed on him six hundred pounds sterling, besides a present of one thousand eight hundred pounds sterling, which by him they sent to [the prince.] But whether that [Digby] could not prevail with [the prince] and those about him, or that himself also contenting himself to have in appearance gone about what he had promised to the [Irish,] was of the same opinion that it was not best for the [prince] to go into [Ireland,] that business hath taken no effect; as on the other side [the queen,] extreme desirous to have him in France, and having sent to

him expressly for that purpose, both other messengers heretofore, and within this week one sir Dudley Yates, cannot yet obtain her will; those about the [prince] not thinking it fit yet to bring him into [France,] but to keep him in Jersey awhile longer, and until they see further which way matters will go in [England.]

With Digby there are come (besides sir Marmaduke Langdale and other English) several Irish gentlemen of Ormond's party, one by name Nicholas White, eldest son to sir Nicholas White, sir Daniel O'Neale, and captain Michael Power, (Ormond's greatest favourite next to colonel Barry;) with some of whom having conferred, I find by their discourses, as also by the letters from the Irish quarters, especially from Waterford and Kilkenny, (very many whereof are come to Paris this week, brought in several vessels that arrived at Nantz and St. Malo,) matters in Ireland not altogether to stand so, nor the forces designed for England to be so ready for transportation as Digby maketh [the queen] believe.

They say, indeed, that the peace is both made and published, and the king in virtue thereof restored to the receiving of the customs and his own revenues; but that for the rest, it is not to be fully effected, nor the king's officers and ministers, especially Ormond in his qualities of viceroy and generalissimo, to have any other than titular power

over them, (their supreme council still continuing afoot, and administering all things in the same manner as before,) until all their transactions be solemnly confirmed by parliament, one being to be held in Dublin out of hand for that purpose, and every one of the things promised to them punctually performed. They reposing no great trust in the king's faith or promises; and fearing that as heretofore he disallowed the agreement made with them by Glamorgan's means,[t] when he thought the disclaiming of it might stand him in some stead, so he would easily be moved to do the same again upon the like occasion. Wherefore they are resolved to make all

[t] From first to last, Charles never let go the hope of being able to re-establish his power in England, by means of assistance from Ireland. While the lord-lieutenant, the marquis of Ormond, was openly and avowedly negotiating for aid from that quarter, the earl of Glamorgan, a Roman Catholic, and personal friend of the king's, was aiming, and with better hopes of success, at the same object, under a secret but ample commission given by Charles himself, unknown to his English council. Glamorgan's negotiations with the supreme council of the Catholics at Kilkenny were accidentally discovered; whereupon Glamorgan was accused by lord Digby of high treason, and committed to prison. And what was the conduct of the martyr? He publicly disavowed the proceedings of Glamorgan; commended the lord-lieutenant and lord Digby for vindicating his honour by proceeding against the earl; and then wrote several private and confidential letters to this friend, whom he had publicly discarded; in which, with the most solemn oaths, he expresses his great obligations to him, and whose merits he says "exceed all expression." See *Godwin, Hist. of the Commonwealth*, vol. ii. c. 25.

things as sure as ever they can, before they put themselves into his hands. And for the army, they say, that of the ten thousand men which with Glamorgan were to go to England, one half with himself, as being, pro-tempore, General of Munster, (the earl of Castlehaven being put out of his place, and turned friar,) is gone against Dunrattie; the other half with Preston, together with two thousand of the Nuncio forces, (which Nuncio for all this summer doth entertain a body of four thousand men out of the monies he brought with him,) against the British garrisons in Connaught; and Owen Roe O'Neal, with five thousand against Ulster; the remainder of their forces, which they make to amount to the number of eight or ten thousand, being to be employed against the cities and forces commanded by my lord Inchiquin in Munster, and the reinforcements further to be sent into those parts.

I forgot to tell you last week, that young Goring was gone into Holland; in the beginning of which journey, having been greatly affronted by a Frenchman that travelled with him, and through that quarrel being brought into some trouble, [the queen] presently dispatched sir John Winter, her secretary, and Mr. Crofts, the captain of her guard, that he might not be detained at all, as being sent by her about important affairs, although it had been given out that he returned into Holland only for to take again the possession of his regiment there.

Killigrew is returned hither out of Spain the beginning of this week, where he hath not effected any thing worth the speaking of, for aught that I can learn. Here hath been a great talk, that the Papist inhabitants of St. Germains should have pulled down the chapel of the English Protestants of the queen's household there; but having inquired into the matter, I find it to be no other, than that having hired three several houses one after another, for the exercise of their devotions, (it being not allowed them within the purprise of the palace itself,) the owners, being Papists, turned them out, as soon as they saw the use they made of them, not having been acquainted with it beforehand: but now last week having hired a fourth house of one who knew for what purpose, and was content with it, they do in it what they will without any disturbance; although it were no matter indeed if they were altogether disturbed, their chaplain, Cosins,[u] being a bitter enemy of the true reformed religion, and openly professing a far greater hatred to the French Protestants, and all others conformable unto them, than unto the Papists.

The Swedes have taken Hoxter, and now besiege Paderborn. The French armada have taken Orbitello, S. Stephano, and Porto Hercoli, three port towns in the further part of Tuscany, belonging to the king of

[u] Afterwards bishop of Durham. In 1650, Cosins was forbidden by the queen regent to officiate to the English Protestants in Paris. *Clarend.*

Spain, and not above one day's journey from the city of Rome. In Flanders, Gassion hath beaten up one of the enemy's quarters, betwixt Bruges and Dunkirk, consisting of an Irish regiment of eight hundred men and two troops of horse, of which whole number there escaped not above one hundred men, all the rest having been put to the sword.

Your humble servant,

N. N.

Paris, May 15, 1646.

I have seen some late letters out of Scotland, from gentlemen of Montrose's faction come by long sea, wherein the number of Montrose and Seaford's forces being much exaggerated, to the number of eleven or twelve thousand men, and those of the parliament side made to be very weak, not above four thousand; there is not any the least hint as if they meant all to join into one party, for the king and against the parliament of England, (a thing very currently believed here by those of the king's side,) but that their quarrel being as great as ever it hath been, they meant to do the worst they could the one against the other; and that Argyle was gone into Ireland to bring over the Scotch forces there, for to assist the parliament of Scotland; as on the other side, the earl of Antrim, his brother, with two thousand Irish, was expected every day in Cantire for to join with Montrose. They have lately got two frigates, to go constantly between [the queen] and Montrose, to carry letters to and fro

constantly, and to carry to him such ammunitions and provisions as [the queen] is able to procure for him from time to time, he having scarce any other but what cometh to him from her; he being so deeply in her favour, that lately she wrote unto him, among many other affectionate expressions, that rather than let him want for any necessary supplies, she would pawn the smock from her back.

R. AUGIER TO [THE SPEAKER.]

Sir,—This will be delivered unto you by Mons. Raphael, to whom I have sent a letter of attorney to pursue and receive my payments, and to give an acquittance thereof; he is a very good Protestant, married in London, and a very honest man. I do send him an accompt of what is due to me for my ordinary allowance by the parliament, and a bill of the extraordinaries due also to me since a year and a half.

Be pleased, sir, to use your credit to make me have satisfaction of both, according to your favourable testimonies of love, expressed in the last you did honour me withal, of the 22nd of March last; and to accept the said Mons. Raphael might from time to time supply from me the respects which Mons. De Rozemont, by reason of his sicknesses, shall not be able to perform.

The king could not have more stained his reputation, than by his manner of flying from Oxford, and in going to Southwell, to the French resident in the Scottish quarters.

Only those of his party fled here, in their ordinary blind passion, do rejoice at it, thereby concluding an infallible junction of that army, yea, and of France, to his majesty; persuading every one that the protestations to the contrary, made by the Scottish commissioners, are supposed and made purposely, the better to play their game.

They made great feastings, and some of the chiefest among them were drunk, after the news of that flight came Tuesday last to the queen of England by an express. My lord Digby came hither time enough to be partaker of their joy, and build new castles in the air.

Since his coming, M. Jermyn made several voyages from St. Germains hither, from whence he parted Wednesday last to go to the court at Compiegne, and there resolve, no question, what to do in consequence of that flight.

Some of the chiefest of these ministers have told me, the king could choose no sweeter way than that retreat, in the extremity he was in, to make his agreement with some credit with his parliaments; thinking also the Scots might find therein a greater satisfaction. Whence I do conclude, they were glad to have the said resident play that person, to divide, if possible,

and, in case of extreme necessity, to endeavour to engage France to that reconciliation; propounding to the king that, accepting the present conditions his parliament will grant him, he may hereafter be redressed with more power than now. So the said parliaments cannot be too well united together, and stand upon their guards.

The duke of Orleans went Tuesday last for Flanders: their great attempt will be in those parts and in Luxemburg, at this side of the Rhine.

The court made account to be here to-morrow. Now the report is, they will go to Fontainebleau, for the duke of Anjou is fallen sick of the measles in the palace royal: two days since he was let blood, the measles came out, and he is now without fever.

Tuesday last it was confirmed the French navy was landed in Italy, and had taken Santo Stephano, Orbitello, and Porto Hercoli. Prince Thomazo will not admit the duke of Florence to a neutrality, unless he suffers the French to take Final, Piombino, and other places possessed by the Spaniards upon those coasts. The admirante of Castille made the vow of obedience to the pope, the 28th of the last, in the Spaniards' behalf. The distractions do continue there between the said admirante and cardinal d'Este, insomuch that they came to blows, already given betwixt the admirante's men and those of the cardinal Grimaldi, who is of the French party. The pope doth endeavour to reconcile that difference to

the advantage of France; meanwhile, the Spanish party gets strength in Rome; and it is the more likely that quarrel will grow hotter, because we are informed from Venice the Turk can do but little by sea this summer. The treaty of peace at Munster is off till October next; that is to say, until the end of this campania, as I had the honour to tell you afore.

I rest, sir, your most humble and obedient servant,

R. Augier.

Paris, May $\frac{25}{15}$, 1646.

P.S. The queen of England received some weeks ago, three hundred thousand livres, whereof she sent one hundred thousand to the prince of Wales, who, I am credibly informed, will not go from Jersey until it be first known what shall become of the king his father.

Just now I am told that an express came yesternight to the queen of England, that her husband was gone from Southwell into Scotland, was to be shortly at the head of thirty thousand men, and that she will make an inquiry of those who say he is taken, to have them punished. I hope this will prove but a lie.

Fourteen hundred and fifty Irish are landed in three companies about Brest: they sent to this court to know how they ought to be disposed of.

EDWARD HYDE[x] TO RICHARD ARUNDEL.[y]

[WRITTEN WITH GENERAL DIGBY'S CIPHER.]

My dear Richard,—Sir Thomas Hooker arrived here on Saturday the second of May, with your many letters from Pendennis, most of them dated the eleventh of April, though he said that he came away from you about a fortnight after the time. I assure you the prince was wonderfully pleased to hear from you, having never before heard one word since the disbanding of the army, though, whilst he stayed at Scilly, we sent very many letters to you; and the same night the prince resolved to come for Jersey, I dispatched an express to you of the reason of his highness's remove from thence, which was this. On Saturday the eleventh of April, my lord Hopton and my lord Capel came to Scilly, the wind having been contrary so long, that the prince had not heard from the main in above a month, and so having never received provision for one meal since his coming to Scilly: and yet I assure you he had no more thought of leaving that island than of going to Virginia.

But with my lords there comes a trumpet from Fairfax, with an invitation (as he called it) from the parliament to the prince; which was, that he would

[x] Afterwards earl of Clarendon.

[y] Afterwards lord Arundel of Trerice: his father was at this time governor of Pendennis castle.

forthwith come into their quarters, and reside in such a place, and with such council and attendance as they should appoint. This unexpected summons made us apprehend that we were not like to be so secure there as we expected, of which we were thoroughly confirmed the next morning, when a fleet of twenty sail encompassed the island, but was that afternoon by a blessed storm dispersed; and then the prince thought it high time to remove from that unsecure place, where his greatest confidence was that they would not disturb him; and so on the Thursday following (for the storm held two days) he set sail for Jersey, and in little more than twenty-four hours arrived safe here, in the most pleasant island, and (truly I think) the strongest in the world; from whence he hath not the least thought of removing, it being in his power to go into Ireland always in four days, whither nothing but an undeniable danger of falling into the enemy's hands can drive him.

I forgot to tell you, that his answer to the parliament was, that if they would send him a safe conduct for my lord Capel to come first to them, and receive their propositions, and then to go to the king, and receive his approbation, he would endeavour to concur with their advice, as far forth as with his piety he might; and that he would expect an answer from them at Jersey: and this message he sent by sir Joseph Seymour, who went with their trumpet, but

as yet he hath received no answer. This is the account of ourselves.

A word now of what we hear concerning the king, which is uncertain: some say he is still at Oxford, others that he is gone to the Scotch army; but this you may depend upon, that the parliament and the Scots are at mortal defiance, so that, by the grace of God, the parliament may have yet cause to come to a sober treaty with the king. Now to yourselves. I assure you there is not a man amongst you more solicitous for the safety of the place than the prince is for the safety of the man, it being understood to be not only a place of the greatest importance, towards the recovering of what is lost, but that the loss of it would reflect upon [the prince] himself, in point of honour, beyond a degree of reparation; and therefore was the prince's first care, when he came to Scilly, and one of the greatest reasons for the sending my lord [108][z] into [France,] but the winds were so contrary, that we heard not from thence till we came to this island. That hour that sir Thomas Hooker arrived here, we were dispatching a boat to the mount, with some provisions, and direction to remove the prisoner hither. But the assurance he gave us of the loss of that place, put an end to that resolution.

The next day after his coming, the prince sent an express to the [queen,] with a list of the provisions

[z] Lord Colepepper is probably meant by this cipher.

you writ for, desiring a speedy supply of [money] proportionable to it, of which we doubt not; and resolved for the present to send this boat to you, with this little quantity which he takes out of the stores here, only as an earnest of his care; having sent two agents, the one to Morleux and the other to Roscoe, to freight out several barques from thence, being not willing to venture too much in one bottom. But, be assured, there is no more care taken to preserve the prince's own person, than there is and shall be to relieve that place diligently and seasonably; which shall be done not only with provisions and clothes for the soldiers, but with money for the [officers,] though for the present the prince is able to send only two hundred pistoles for the continuance of the work, and therefore keeps [151] here to go away with the rest.

This inclosed note contains the particulars which are now sent; a supply of [ammunition] you shall likewise speedily receive. I pray tell Henry Killigrew that I expected a larger account from him than the postscript of a letter, and to have been informed somewhat of his garrison at Ince, and of his neighbours Corriton and Edgecomb; but especially a word or two of John Ackland[a] and Trelawney, of whom I am not willing

[a] By the treaty made on the surrender of the city of Exeter to Fairfax, provision was made for the security of those royalists who would submit to the parliament, and compound for their estates. Sir John Ackland and Mr. Trelawney were among the number of those who were willing to submit; and there is a letter in the Tanner Collection, bearing date April 14, 1646,

to believe what I hear reported. Remember my service to my lady and to your father.

I do not yet doubt of a good meeting, and of seeing an honest peace after all these troubles.

I am, dear Dick,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

EDW. HYDE.

Jersey, May 15, 1646.

[There are two lines not deciphered in the postscript, shewing in what part of the ship the money is to be found.]

[*Another postscript on the back-side of the letter, viz.*]

You may find by the former date of my letter that I expected these things should have been with you much sooner, but several accidents have befallen the boat. I hope she will now come safe unto you, and then you will not be sorry for her stay, because she requites you with the good news of the king's safe arrival in the Scotch army, and of his honourable reception there; which truly I hope will quickly beget a true, and produce a happy peace. I can tell you that the prince hath sent two thousand pistoles to one Mr. Hitchcock, a merchant at Morleux, for the making provision for [159] for the present: more money shall be sent to him shortly. We have directed him to send such kinds of provision as we

from Fairfax to the speaker, in which he claims for sir J. Ackland the benefit of the above treaty; and in which he says, "He (Ackland) seems to be very real in continuing for the future obedient to the parliaments' commands."

suppose you may most want. I believe you did not make any estimate of the list sent to the prince by the [council] of war, which, without doubt, cannot be provided for six thousand pistoles.

May 23.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—Having received a proposition from the children of Mr. Chamberlayne, on the behalf of their father, now out of the kingdom, concerning the surrender of the house of Sherburne in Oxfordshire into my hands, for the use of the parliament, I thought fit to present the same unto the house, desiring to know their pleasure in it, their desire being to be admitted on the behalf of their father to a composition for his estate: which I humbly recommend to the consideration of the house, the rather for that since my army came into these parts, as also formerly, those in the house never offered any violence to any of my soldiers, that I could hear of, but admitted them to quarter in the town, and paid duly their proportion of provisions to the army. It is likewise the report of the country, that they never levied any contribution from them since he first stood upon his guard, he having armed his servants and others in the house, as they affirm and assure me, to prevent a further inconvenience both to himself and the country, to which it would have proved a very

great annoyance, if it had been fortified and garrisoned by the king's forces, as was not only designed, but also resolved.

Your most humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

May 18, 1646.

LORD LAUDERDALE TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—We have this day received a letter from you, and within it a vote[c] of the house of commons, declaring that this kingdom hath no further use of the Scots' army within the kingdom of England.

In both the letter and vote, you desire a speedy answer. It cannot be expected that we have instructions concerning such a business, but if the two houses of the parliament of England desire any declaration to be sent to the committee of estates of the kingdom of Scotland at Edinburgh, and the committee residing with the Scottish army, we are confident they will receive such an answer as can in reason be expected from brethren, according to the covenant and treaty.

Concerning the accounts of what is due to the army, we do return this answer: That the committee of estates with the Scottish army in this kingdom, have from time to time earnestly desired and pressed the adjusting of the accounts of the army, and of the

[c] See Whitlocke, May 19, 1646.

several counties where the army hath been quartered since they came into this kingdom; and according to the desire of the commissioners of both houses in October last, at St. Andrews, the parliament of Scotland did appoint their commissioners to meet with such as should be appointed by the houses of parliament, for clearing and adjusting the said accounts, and removing all differences that might happen concerning the same, according to the ninth article of the treaty between the kingdoms. The commissioners of the parliament of Scotland have been and are still ready to proceed to the perfecting of these accounts, whensoever it is thought fit by the houses of parliament or their commissioners.

But for aught we know, no commissioners of this kingdom have yet met with them about this business: whereby the expectation of the parliament of Scotland hath been disappointed, and we have not received these accounts to present unto the honourable houses.

It is therefore our earnest desire that the houses of parliament would appoint their commissioners to meet with the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland for this purpose; and when the accounts are finished and concluded, we shall forthwith present them to the honourable houses. In the mean time, the sense we have of the sufferings of the Scottish army, and of the county where they quarter, occasioned by their want of money, enforceth us

again earnestly to desire the house to send speedily a considerable supply of money [c] to that army; that they who came in for the help of the county may be able to subsist without being too burdensome, and the county may be eased, which both they and we do most earnestly desire, and then we are confident the houses shall not be troubled with any complaints against them.

For preventing of misinformations, we have thought fit to acquaint the honourable houses with the proclamation published by his excellency the earl of Leven at Durham: that his majesty came into Newcastle without any solemnity; and that none of the Scottish nation are admitted to come into that garrison without a warrant from the committee of estates of that kingdom; and none of this nation, unless they have a warrant from the houses of parliament, their commissioners, or the magistrates of Newcastle.

The committee of estates of the kingdom of Scotland residing at Edinburgh, upon notice of his majesty's coming to their army, forthwith issued a proclamation, inhibiting and discharging all the sub-

[c] At the same time that the vote of the house to which this letter alludes was passed, it was also voted, that one hundred thousand pounds should be raised and paid to the Scots' army: fifty thousand pounds thereof after they shall have surrendered Newcastle, Carlisle, and other English garrisons possessed by them, and the other fifty thousand pounds after their advance into the kingdom of Scotland. *Whitlocke, April* 19, 1646.

jects, of whatsoever quality or degree, to repair unto the king without their warrant, upon the pain of being pursued as public enemies, as will appear by the copy herein inclosed: they have also sent some of their members to assist the committee at the army, with directions that they proceed with the constant advice and consent of the committee of both houses, according to the covenant and treaty. That they earnestly entreat his majesty to grant the joint desires of both kingdoms, when they shall be presented unto him. And in the mean time, that he grant no titles of honour, pensions, or places, to any of his subjects of Scotland; and in every thing else to study a fair correspondence between the kingdoms.

We are your affectionate friends and servants,

LAUDERDALE.

Worcester House,
May 20, 1646.

SIR THOMAS LITTLETON TO MR. SANCROFT.

SIR,—My worthy good friend, doctor Holdsworth, the master of your college, hath done me the favour to recommend you unto me to be a tutor to one of my sons; and I am so fully satisfied of your learning and virtue, that it is my earnest desire you will take him into your care and charge, being very hopeful of receiving comfort in your education of him. I have appointed that he shall be with you about the end of

this month, and do think his elder brother will come with him, and make some stay in Cambridge; for I have signified to him, that for some particular reasons he should so do, and I am confident he will.

I request you, therefore, that you would, against that time, provide him of a private lodging, where he may have the commodity of dressing his diet and a private stable, there or near to the lodging, for four or five horses; it will be more commodious and safe, both for man and horse, and of less charge, to be in a private house than in an inn.

I do think fit my younger son should be with his brother at his lodging for awhile; and so soon as I shall understand from you of their coming thither I shall write to you more fully herein. I have remitted to you the sum of £30, by Mr. Adams of St. Laurence lane, which I hope you will receive according to this inclosed bill of exchange; and you may deliver to my eldest son of this money what he shall call to you for.

I understand the plague hath been in some few houses of the town, and that it is hoped, by the great care of governors, God's goodness assisting, that it will spread no further: if it increase, I pray speedily acquaint me. I write not to my eldest son Henry before I shall hear of his coming to you, and am a little uncertain whether he will come with his brother. Let me hear, I pray, of your receipt of this, by the first opportunity; and direct your letters to

Mr. Butler, at the Three Golden Cups, in Cornhill. They may come to me the more safely, if you superscribe them to him.

I will not further enlarge at present, than to commend to you the desires of

Your very loving friend to do you service,

T. LITTLETON.

Tower,
May 21, 1646.

Mr. Adams procured me this inclosed: could not, it seems, conveniently do it at present of himself.

THE AGENT AT PARIS TO THE COMMITTEE OF BOTH KINGDOMS.

SIR,—I am daily more and more confirmed, by all manner of evident signs, in the knowledge that [the French court] hath been the chief agent in bringing to pass the agreement between [the king] and [the Scots;] and that [Montrevil] was in effect sent by them into [England,] (as some other person into [Scotland] itself,) for no other purpose. Wherefore they do now much rejoice to see matters brought to the issue they have so hard laboured for, and which hath [cost] them no small sums of money: and [Jermyn,] who went to their [court] to carry them the news of it, (as I told you in my last,) was marvellous welcome to them; and that the more yet,

because withal he brought them the certainty of the final conclusion between [the king] and [the Irish,] and of the design of sending an [army] of [ten] or [twelve thousand] men into [Scotland,] or into the [north] of [England,] for to join with the [Scots,] and with them to invade [England:] which second point that they might to their greater satisfaction understand more amply from the mouth of [Digby,] (the principal instrument of effecting the same,) they sent an express courier for him; who being come to him on Friday last here in Paris, (where then he was,) just as he was set down to his dinner, he went immediately away with him for Amiens, where [the French court] then abode, and having stayed there but until Sunday morning, he came back with [Jermyn] to St. Germains on Monday, they having by the way lodged and been most splendidly entertained, by express directions from [the French court,] at Chantilly, a kingly palace of the prince of Condé.

I do further understand, that the adverse [party,] promising themselves wonders of the conjunction of the [Irish] and [Scots,] and that thereby they shall make up such powerful [armies,] as they shall in no wise need any other auxiliar forces, had no commission to solicit [the queen and cardinal] for any thing else at this time but for [money] and [ammunition,] in which particular they gave him great satisfaction, and sent him back laden with great promises of large [assistance] in that kind for the future:

wherein also I do not doubt but they will in some measure be as good as their word, they knowing full well that [the king] mainly wanteth these things, and that he will be very ill able to maintain the [Scots] at his devotion, if he have not [money] wherewithal to feed them from time to time. But as for the present they think him well enough supplied by the [contributions] of [the clergy;] who having heretofore promised great sums to [the queen] towards the [levies] here in France, but drawn back their hands when they saw them come to nothing, have now revived their willingness to help [the king] and [the queen] that way, in expectation of some great success to that [party,] (and consequently to the establishing of their [religion] in those islands as they take it,) upon these new plots; and therefore not by the permission only, but by the secret cooperating of [the French court,] have given unto [the queen] the sum of four hundred thousand francs; which thing is kept wonderful secret, but came to my knowledge by the means of a person who knows it wonderful well.

This [money] will be conveyed to the [king] by Ireland, and carried thither (to be from thence transmitted to Carlisle, or some other convenient place) by [Digby,] who is to return thither speedily, and the [prince] with him: which last point not having been able to obtain at Jersey, it was the chief cause (as lately I have learned) of his coming into France, to persuade the [queen] to it, and by her means and

authority to effect that which of himself he could not. And although her desires have been very vehement to have him here in France, in hopes of bringing to pass the marriage of him and Madamoiselle, (notwithstanding all former unkindnesses betwixt her and [Monsieur,]) yet having understood by [Digby] the reasons that had moved him and Ormond to desire the [prince's] presence in [Ireland,] and how they were persuaded that by that means they would draw all the British in [Ireland,] [English] as well as [Scots,] especially those in the north, (for of them in Munster they have less hopes,) to conform to the [peace] now concluded between [the king] and the [Irish,] and absolutely to quit the [parliament party,] she hath consented to [Digby's] desires; and the grand council having been kept at Saint Germains after the return of [Jermyn] and [Digby] from the [French court,] on Tuesday last, (consisting of them two, the lord Capel, Colepepper, and some few others, the [queen] herself being the president,) the matter was there solemnly resolved on, and the day appointed for the departure of [Digby] and those with him to Jersey, to go from thence with the prince for [Ireland,] with the first good opportunity of wind and weather. They do not apprehend any danger in that their passage, although they know the sea to be full of [parliament] ships, because their frigate, called the Francis of Dunkirk, the same wherein they came out of Ireland, is one of the best sailing vessels in the world, and doth even outsail the Warwick, the swiftest

of all the frigates that are in the [parliaments'] service; as those gentlemen, who with [Digby] are come over in it, do tell me; otherwise the vessel is of no great defence, carrying only ten or twelve pieces of ordnance, and one hundred soldiers: the other vessel that came with them, and wherein there was two hundred men, having been sent back to Scilly by [Digby,] after that he had tried in vain to persuade the [governor] to take those two hundred men into the fort, for the reinforcing of the garrison, for which end he had brought them expressly with him: to which desire of [Digby,] the [governor] was so far from condescending, as he would not suffer those soldiers, or any part of them, so much as to land; pretending that the island was very bare of provisions, and had been altogether beggared by [the prince] and his troops.

Ormond and Digby held themselves so assured that the [prince] would come into Ireland, as they had already raised him a regiment of guards, whereof one Michael Power, an Irish Papist, (one of them that are come into France with [Digby,]) is colonel; and the three hundred men, who came in the two frigates, are of the same regiment. Here is a report in Paris amongst the English, that there are forces raising in Normandy for [the king's] service; and it is true indeed that there is great levying of soldiers through all that province; and so there is here in Paris itself, and in all the countries round about; but all these levies, as well of those of Normandy as all the rest, are most certainly for the king of France's

own service, and for the army to be employed in the low countries; the which they seek to make extraordinary strong, being so desirous to get as many soldiers as ever they can; as to every common soldier they give two and three pistoles in hand, a thing the like whereof was never heard before.

[The duke d'Anjou] is also preparing to take the field very speedily, there having been much thwarting and opposition before it could be brought to that; all which, by the dexterity of Monsr. de la Tuillerie hath been removed: and yet the marquis of Castel Rodrigo hath not lost all hopes of bringing the States to a peace or long truce; for which purpose he continueth to negotiate most earnestly with them.

The general treaty at Munster doth continue still; but the partisans of the house of Austria do complain in all their letters, that what Trantmansdorf and his adjuncts in dealing with the Protestants do further the matter one day, that is undone again the next by the French ministers there. The earl of Antrim hath obtained leave to carry over fifteen hundred Irish, and as many Scotch Highlanders, to the king of Spain's service, with whom he is expected in Flanders every day, some part thereof being arrived there already. The Swedes in Westphalia, since the taking of Hoxter, have also taken Paderborn, and in the Stist of Bremen they have besieged Vecht, but in Austria they have lost Crema, after a long siege. We have letters from Narbonne, that count Harcourt should have defeated a Spanish party of six or seven hundred foot

and three hundred horse, and after that besieged the city of Lerida, the confirmation whereof we expect by letters out of Catalonia itself. The news we had last week, that the French had taken Orbitello and Porto Hercoli in Tuscana, proved not to be true; only they were landed hard by at Monte Argentaro, and possessed themselves of that, and of the little island of Santo Stephano next to it. [The French court] doth still continue at Amiens, from whence they are to go to Dourlens, to see the general muster of their army, and after that to come back to Amiens again.

There is some discontent betwixt [Monsieur] and the [duc d'Anjou,] each of which being to command a great [army] apart, the greatest part of [the nobility] chooseth to go rather with the second than with [Monsieur;] which maketh him very insolent, and to use [Monsieur] as is not fitting. From whence it is feared dangerous consequences might flow, to the great prejudice of the public affairs; but that there is hopes that the wisdom of the [queen and cardinal] will overcome all these difficulties, and prevail with [Monsieur,] gentle enough in his nature, to pass over these matters, and to prefer the public good before his private quarrels. The $\frac{17}{27}$ of May was appointed for Anjou for to fall into the enemies' countries, his army being a very complete one, and consisting of between sixteen and seventeen thousand men.

Your humblest servant,

Paris, $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{June 1,}\\ \text{May 22,}\end{matrix}\right\}$ 1646. N. N.

SIR TREVOR WILLIAMS TO SIR JOHN TREVOR.

Sir,—It hath pleased God to give me another fair opportunity to express my sincere resolution in advancing the public service. For being called upon to Monmouthshire, (where I have been till now, settling things in a good posture for colonel Morgan's coming amongst us,) I drew out of my own castle of Langibby as many horse and foot as could be well spared, and, assisted with some of major-general Langhorne's, marched (on Wednesday night last) silently into the very town of Ragland before I was discovered by the castle; and after the alarm given, and a skirmish had with them, wherein we killed about five or six, and took about twelve more prisoners, we had intelligence of most of their officers' and reformade soldiers' best horse grazing in the meads between the town and castle, and were so bold as to borrow threescore and ten of them, most of them belonging to Goodrich castle, whence they came but the night before, intending (we suppose) some notable design upon me or Langhorne. But, blessed be God, we prevented them, notwithstanding the terror of their great guns, and at least three hundred shot with musquets amongst us, whereby we lost not above three men, besides one of my reformades, who engaging himself too far, was taken, and since, I hear, unjustly shot to death by three Irish rebels; all, both

English and Welsh soldiers, refusing to execute so horrid an action; which was of so small an operation with the rest, that divers of them come in daily to our quarters. Sir, I hope this my farewell will make the way for Morgan's expected acquaintance with them, and doubt not you will do me the favour and right to communicate these particulars to Mr. Speaker, and as many of the members as are your and my friends; that not only they may apprehend my zeal to their service, but that you may esteem of me, as,

Sir, your faithful nephew and servant,

TRE. WILLIAMS.

Bristol, May 23, 1646.

FROM W. J. TO MR. CHALONER.[d]

DEAR FRIEND, — I received yours, dated the 20th of May, but not yet got a sight of George Marwood's letter, who yesterday adventured a journey, (believe me) not a little hazardous, into Cleveland, amongst the exorbitant Scots; which he did not undertake upon any public occasion, but rather to drive some cattle which he has there towards the East Riding, where perhaps he may for some short time ensafe them: but I am confident, if from the south we be not supplied with better

[d] Member of parliament for Richmond.

force than now we have, that Riding will very suddenly be as much infested by the insolent Scot, as already is the rest of the greatest part of our poor country. Cleveland has long lain a bleeding, you know; but, alas, it has now even received its death wound: there are no less than five regiments of horse in it, and I dare say altogether as unruly and merciless as have lately been the Mahometan Tymareots in Candie: there is no safety for any man that has been in parliamentary employment, either military or civil, to come amongst them; for they unhorse all such, and rob them too, and that with so much scorn, that they tell them that it is not fit that a base roundhead should either ride or have money in his purse. They begin already to drive the cattle towards Newcastle; and truly I am confident, if timely care be not taken to prevent it, when they hear of a southern army marching this way, that they will spoil and burn all such places in the northern counties as they conceive will not be tenable for them. Our condition of fortune is very miserable. I long most passionately to see you. Poor Hevan and Busbie are even now giving up the ghost, and king Clavas and father Woller quite undone. Robin Gardner's dulcinea is one of sir Thomas Gower's daughters, with whom he is like to have as much money as sir Walter Raleigh brought over from his voyage, but no more. He is very unfortunate to himself-wards here: for about a week

ago, he did give your wife's brother, Mr. Sothabie, so great a quantity of sack at Mrs. Corney's, that he did instantly die in the room, and we buried him the next day.

Dear Tom, adieu.
Thy faithful, W. J.

York, May 24, 1646.

THOMAS SMALLWOOD TO LUKE ROBINSON.[f]

Sir,—After long silence I am constrained to salute you with uncomfortable news from the distressed country of Cleveland; though my neighbours have felt the smart of Newcastle's army, and twice of the Scots', yet these times were times of peace and prosperity, in comparison of this present time; never were poor people so oppressed as we are. The commander-in-chief in these parts is one general-major Vandruske, a civil gentleman: his regiment consists of many Papists, French, Dutch, Irish, Scotch, and those that are Englishmen are (as their own chaplain confessed to me) four parts of them the king's reduced, or rather subdued officers, who, now our conquerors and tyrants, came from Newark, Oxford, and other of his garrisons. They are most of them very rude in their carriage, for they every day ride abroad and rob all men and women they meet with;

[f] Member of parliament for the North Riding of Yorkshire.

none can with safety pass to or from a fair, or town, or market: they have left us no horses that are able to carry a man; and profess, whensoever they go away, to leave us no other goods.

In their quarters they demean themselves most barbarously. They beat their men and women causelessly. They will not eat either salt beef, or milk, or butter, nor drink any small beer, but force the poor men to buy them mutton, lamb, and chickens, and ale in abundance; and though they put their horses in the mowing grass, yet they force all their landlords to find them every day a peck of oats for each horse. Our honest men are many of them forced to leave their houses; some are fled into Whitby Strand, some into the English army near York, and others into the East Riding. I was forced to fly from my house, and leave all I had to their mercy: as for those towns where no soldiers are quartered, they compel them to pay monies to them, some towns £8, some £10, some £16, some £20 per diem; so that if some speedy course be not taken, the whole county will be destroyed. I cannot see how they can possibly subsist twenty days in all likelihood; and though these burdens lie upon them, they dare not complain; no justice was yet done, except upon one man, who was shot to death for killing his landlord (in cool blood): they change their quarters every other day, which proves a very heavy burden to the poor people. Honest men dare not shew a Bible amongst them, except it have both

Common Prayers and Apocrypha in it; and it were treason for the poor godly men to pray in their families.

Sir, I want words to express the misery the county is in; I question not but you have much from other hands; I have not written a word but I can avouch it to be true. Sir, I am confident you will believe me, and I hope plead for some redress for us, which will be very acceptable service for the never more to be lamented north. If you please to acquaint sir Matt. Boynton and Mr. Thos. Chaloner with this in particular, they may know that they can expect no more rents from us. The lord incline the hearts of the parliament to study some relief for us.

Ever yours,

THOMAS SMALLWOOD.

From captain Lawson's
house in Scarborough,
May 25, 1646.

EMANUEL ISSACHAR TO THE BURGESSES IN PARLIAMENT FOR YORKSHIRE.[s]

GENTLEMEN,—Your languishing country expects comfort from you: ride they cannot to inform, for

[s] "Letters of the sufferings of the northern parts by the the Scots army, who, instead of £8000 *per men.* have charged £9000 a month, and the refusers, or persons not able to pay, are plundered and cruelly used, referred to a committee to state the matter to the house." *Whitlocke, June* 1, 1646.

their horses are taken from them; run they cannot, their hearts are too heavy, their burdens too great; they have too much cause to complain, but dare not: cry aloud they would, if their spirits were not too far spent; and they have had so little encouragement to ride, run, complain, or cry, less success in it, greater oppression by it, that they give all for lost without your present assistance. And assure yourselves, gentlemen, that if it be not done with speed, you must work to miracle, if you preserve those (if once sent) who are already wrestling and tugging for their last breath and livelihood. First, all the horses in the country are in a manner all taken away; quartering towns in a manner totally wasted, in their pastures, meadows, and corn; assistant towns cessed after £7000 *per men.* some after £10000 *per men.* and for want of moneys they take what they like at their own rates, and sell at their own pleasure, and yet they neither pay for their quarters, nor furnish their landlords with any provisions; nay, many an honest man is forced to trudge night and day, to fetch them wine, ale, or beer, or what extraordinary fare as they desire, at his great charge; and this he does to buy a little peace; and thus he prostrates himself and estate, to purchase his own quiet, to the lust and rage of such as have been our open enemies, such as are lately come out of Newark, and such who, though they have pretended to be our friends, now declare themselves for the king, threaten the par-

liament for burning their papers, &c., threaten all public officers, and all the parliaments' friends, calling them English dogs, &c.; countenancing and entertaining daily Papists and delinquents, and, in one word, live as if it were their design to destroy our country.

Gentlemen, if these be our friends, why do they deal so unkindly with us? If they be our servants, why are they not so commanded as that they may discover their obedience? If too many of them (which is without doubt) be our enemies, why do we harbour, feed, and enrich them? Believe it, such are the villanies, outrages, plunderings, strippings, beatings, woundings, besides some rapes and murders, as flesh and blood till now did never endure the like, nor free-born English ever pass by without satisfaction. Yet, gentlemen, all these does your country put up, for your sakes, being loath to do any thing without your consents, no, not the least against your minds.

Gentlemen, the country yet breathes, and that is all, yet hopes and expects daily from you help; help before it be too late; your country is bleeding, fainting, gasping; administer some cordials, and some balsam to recover the feeble condition and close up the too too often exasperated wounds of its bruised and broken members. If an open enemy only had done this wrong, the loss might have been great enough, the grief not comparable; but since some doubtful friends have proved our bosom enemies, and do still make a prey of us, is it not time to guard them to

their own homes? where it may be disputed better; choose whether they be our friends or no, and then, without doubt, an easy moderator may quickly determine all, and end all difficulties and dangers in a kindly conclusion.

Believe it, gentlemen, there is no grief like ours, no task-master ever so severe, requiring so much more than either they have or can procure. The priest and Levite that passed by the wounded that had fallen among thieves, (oh! that these had passed by so,) were not so unneighbourly as these. It were to be wished that some of these had been like those thieves, then we should once have been quit of them: but these not only fleece us at spring, and reap our fruits in autumn, but also take fleece and flock, store and stock, at their pleasure; and not only squeeze out, now a little, then more of the fruits of the field, but also thrash out the gleanings, and press out the wearied oil of the poor labouring man.

Gentlemen, by these generals you may understand the particular sufferings of your country; I doubt not but you will be sensible enough of it; give me leave only to tell you, it can admit of no delay: if therefore you intend to have any share in the preservation of it, up, and be timely doing, and the Lord without doubt will bless your endeavours; for which you shall have the prayers of

Your humble servant,

EMANUEL ISSACHAR.

Langbarough, May 28, [1646.]

THE AGENT AT PARIS TO THE COMMITTEE OF BOTH KINGDOMS.[b]

Sir,—The day appointed for the departure of [Digby,] and those with him, from St. Germains to St. Malo and Jersey, was Tuesday last, and therefore he had given order to all the gentlemen of his train here in Paris, both those come with him out of Ireland, and those that he hath found here, (being a great many, most of them Irish, of which number my lord of Evagh and Barron the agent are,) to be at St. Germains by Monday last at night, at the very furthest, where he intended to be himself without fail by the same time from Paris, whither he was come back the next day, after keeping the great council at St. Germains, mentioned in my last, viz. on Wednesday $\frac{20}{30}$ May, accompanied with [Jermyn,] who returned to St. Germains within two days after, having effected that for which he was come up with [Digby,] and taken order (by the authority which to that purpose he had received from [the two queens]) that the [money] allotted to the [queen,] extraordinarily upon this last occasion, should be paid into the hands of [Digby,] as hath been done since. But

[b] Letters from an agent, employed into France by the committee of both kingdoms, subscribed N. N. and directed S. G. from Paris; the one $\frac{15^{o}}{25^{o}}$ Maii 1646; another of $\frac{1^{o}\ \text{Junii}}{2^{o}\ \text{Maii}}$ 1646; third of $\frac{8^{o}\ \text{Junii}}{29^{o}\ \text{Maii}}$ 1646; were all this day read. *Journals of the Commons, June* 6, 1646.

Monday being come, and [Digby] now beginning to dispose himself towards his departure to St. Germains, news came to him that seventeen [parliament] ships were come to Jersey; and although he would seem to make no account of that, and to be able, notwithstanding those ships, both to get into Jersey to the prince, and to get out from thence with him, being confident, that if with his frigate, the St. Francis of Dunkirk, he can get but one ship's length before them, they shall never overtake him again; nevertheless it altered the resolution about his journey, he being gone down indeed to St. Germains the day after, viz. on Tuesday last, but not with a resolution to set out from thence for St. Malo presently, as before it was appointed; for he both left all the gentlemen, that are to accompany him on his journey, here in Paris, and is yet to return hither once more himself, viz. on Saturday next; when also [the queen] doth come up, I do not well know yet for what occasion, for that which is given out, that it should be for to salute [the queen regent] at her return from the frontiers, is very improbable; for if that were the cause that brought her up, she would stay till [the queen regent] were here first, and not come up two days before her; [the French court] not being expected here till Monday next, and it being very uncertain whether it will be there itself.

Now although [Digby's] journey have been thus long delayed beyond the appointed time, because of

the occasion aforesaid, yet it seemeth it must not retard it much longer, he being resolved to venture and to begin his journey on Monday next, as all those gentlemen and commanders of his company (who for their pleasure do stay constantly in Paris as long as they can) are made to believe by him.

At the being of [Jermyn] and [Digby] at [the French court,] it was resolved that an [ambassador] should be sent into [England] out of hand, and [Monsieur Bellievre] (one that hath been there in the same quality heretofore, not many years since) was appointed for that purpose, who stayeth only to fit himself for that journey, according as the dignity of that charge doth require, and will be ready to set out, as I understand, about a fortnight hence. His commission is published to be, that he shall endeavour to procure a good and firm peace between the king and the two nations, and a strict alliance between the British monarchy and the French against the house of Austria; but those here that have never so little insight in the course of affairs, and of the affections of [the French court] towards the [war] in Great Britain, and know how fain they would have that perpetuated, the pains they have taken, and the bribes they have distributed to divide the [Scots] from the [English] to that purpose, the satisfaction they received to see that brought to pass, (as at least they imagine it is,) and the [assist]ance which in sequel thereof they have already given to [the

queen,] and further promised to her, (merely in hopes to set afoot an everlasting war between the two [kingdoms,] and by that means also to foment still some intestine broils in [England,] together with the time lost, and the persons at whose instigation the resolution of sending the [ambassador] was taken,) know well that this is a mere delusion, and that under that plausible pretext he goeth to effect, as far as in him shall lie, the quite contrary; and not only to keep the [two nations] asunder, yea, and to make the breach wider and wider betwixt them, but even to sow the seed of discord among the [English] themselves, and to make use of all means and occasions whereby divisions and factions may be sown and augmented betwixt them.

The city of Lerida in Catalonia is for certain besieged by count Harcourt, and some of the outworks taken already: le count de Chabot, a brave soldier, and one that hath done many gallant services to that kingdom, having been slain before it, and shot with a musquet into his head. The forces of the French armada in Italy go on prosperously, they having, besides Orbitello and Porto Hercoli, besieged also Piombino, a sea town in Tuscany, as the former two, belonging to the pope's nephew, but garrisoned by the king of Spain, and reduced it already to great straits; there being come to them five hundred horse from the cardinal d'Este, and six hundred foot from his brother, the duke of Modena.

There is likelihood still of a peace between France and the emperor, the imperial ministers at Munster having abated several of the conditions heretofore annexed by them to the cession of Alsace; but of any agreement between France and Spain, or between the emperor with the princes leagued with him, and the Swedes with the Protestants, their associates, there is as little likelihood as ever. The imperial and Bavarian armies have not yet stirred out of their quarters, whilst the Swedish army in Westphalia doth take one place after the other, it being lately much increased by the addition of the forces of Koninsgmark; who having quitted the siege of Vecht, unknown for what reasons, hath conjoined himself with the chief army under Wrangel.

The business betwixt the king of Denmark and the Hollanders hath been taken up, and a fleet of three hundred Holland ships hath passed the Sound, having paid the customs that were agreed on by the treaty of last summer; and yet he doth still continue to arm very strongly by sea, and besides those seven ships which he hath promised to the Venetians, to prepare many others; as also his son of the second bed, prince Waldemar, maketh strong levies in the duchy of Holstein of some thousands of foot; the which to be intended for another service than what he pretendeth, appeareth by the inconstancy of his words, he publishing one while that he intends them for the Venetians, and

another that he is to serve the emperor with them.

[The queen,] to shew herself very sensible of the great service done by [Digby] in [Ireland,] hath not only used him with all possible demonstrations of affection and honour, but allowed him, out of the moneys that he carries with him for the king's use, a large sum for himself, wherewithal to maintain a very stately train, and to keep constantly an open table for above an hundred gentlemen and commanders.

Your humblest servant,

N. N.

Paris, { Junii 8, / Mai 29, } 1646.

Le compte de la Garde will be here very shortly, ambassador extraordinary of the queen of Sweden, sent for the confirmation of the alliance between those two crowns, and for a nearer union between the same.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

Mr. Speaker,—The committee of Northampton have applied to me for the reducement of the forces of that garrison, consisting of a regiment of foot, another of horse: they desire their horse may be reduced to two hundred, (according to an order of the committee of both kingdoms,) to which I submit; and have appointed (if you approve) colonel Lid-

cott's and major Redman's, as permanent troops, to stand, and be recruited to that number. The gentlemen have formerly done some good service, and (as I am informed) willing to deny themselves for an opportunity to serve the country.

They desire all their foot, save three companies which were left in Northampton, (each a hundred,) may be disbanded, which I humbly conceive very disserviceable to your affairs, till Worcester and this place be within your command; most of their foot being now in actual service, one company in Banbury, the rest before Worcester. Wherefore I offer humbly to your consideration, and desire that provision may be made by the house for so much of their force as may make their charge in the common work proportionable to other counties.

Your most humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

May 29, 1646.

MAJOR-GENERAL POYNTZ TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—After many addresses by messages and letters sent to the general and lieutenant-general of the Scots, and likewise to their commissioners from myself, the committee of war, and the committees of this county, for the removal of their horse (in number, as is reported, at least three thousand) forth of the North Riding of this county, to the end the wearied

at the Leaguer at Newark, and ill paid horse of this county, might receive some reasonable subsistence and refreshment, the most part of the rest of the county being exhausted by the continual quarters of the Scots' horse, they returned me (amongst others) this inclosed, which I thought fit to make the house acquainted with; craving that they would be pleased to despatch their commands and directions therein to the committees of war or me, for having used our utmost endeavours in order to a fair correspondence between the armies. We are very much troubled and put to a stand by the said inclosed, being the unexpected and contrary effect of all the said messages and letters.

I remain, sir,

Your most faithful and most humble servant,

SEDENHAM POYNTZ.

York, May 29, 1646.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

SIR,—I have one thing more particular to acquaint you with, the bad fortifications of this city, which, in respect of my absence, are altogether decayed and ruined, insomuch that (if occasion required it) there is not one sconce or platform fit to plant a piece of ordnance; besides, the wall in most places may, by the strength of a man's arm, be thrown to

the ground. I conceive it of some consequence to make this known; that receiving the pleasure of the houses therein, both the way and means of repairing the old, and making of such new works as shall be necessary, may be forthwith taken in hand.

This is humbly offered from,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

SEDENHAM POYNTZ.

York, May 29, 1646.

There is not so much as a court of guard in all the city, nor any piece of fortification, neither is any provision in the town for a day; so that if it be thought fit to be continued a garrison, these things must immediately be supplied.

FROM THE SCOTS' COMMISSIONERS TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—If the sending of supplies to the Scottish army, and the giving order for their quarters, were a matter of small consequence, or could, without very great prejudice, suffer a delay, we would be very loath so frequently to trouble the honourable houses about that particular.

But when we consider the exceeding great wants of that army, and the insupportable burden that lies

upon the counties where they do now reside, by reason no moneys are paid to the army, wherewith they may discharge their quarters, from whence many dangerous inconveniencies and sad evils must needs follow, as may appear by the letters from the committee at York, if not very speedily prevented. We do find a necessity laid upon us still to importune the honourable houses for sending a considerable supply of money to that army. And in the mean time to give order for their quarters, that all differences which may arise between them and the county, or the parliaments' forces, may be avoided, and all fair correspondence may be mutually cherished and entertained.

These things we have earnestly pressed at the committee of both kingdoms, and do now again renew to both houses, for our further exoneration; wherein, as we have used our best endeavours to prevent the evils that are like to ensue, so we cannot but promise to ourselves that the honourable houses will take the same into their wise consideration, and speedily return a satisfactory answer to

Your affectionate friends and servants,

LAUDERDALE.
F. JOHNSTON.
H. KENNEDY.
RO. BARCLAY.

Worcester House,
May 30, 1646.

COLONEL FOWLIS TO MR. THOS. CHALONER.

Dear Cousin,—As many tell me there are four regiments and a half quartered in Cleveland; major-general Vondruske's regiment lieth at Gisborough; colonel Ramsey's regiment at and about Kirkby-under-brough, Broughton, &c.; colonel Weldon's regiment quarters at Stockley; they have Danby, Westerdale, and all the rest of the dales about Blakemoor, for their assistant quarters; cessments in most places fly higher than when the lord Balcarris and colonel Montgomery's regiments quartered in Cleveland. I know not the names of the colonels that lie about North-Allerton.

Much mischief is done by Vondruske and Weldon's men; they glory in stealing horses, and think it a small fault to kill both men and women; nor is robbery accounted any error amongst them, it is their hourly practice: and there are so many Newarkers and others of the king's party entertained amongst them, as they take a pride in abusing all that ever served the parliament; threatening death, and driving them from their own homes. They broke open lieutenant Marshall's house in Stockley at midnight; he was formerly lieutenant to captain Wildon; and threatened his present death, because he had formerly served the parliament; so as he was forced to leap from the top of his house, and by that means fled to some of the quarters of major-general Poyntz, about

Thurske or Rownton. This happened last Saturday night.

There are many amongst them most wonderful enemies to the parliament, if one may judge of their heart by their daily talk, which is soundly seconded with notable oaths. Many Yorkshiremen which were coming to our fairs here, returned back when they heard of their robberies; and divers that sold goods durst not carry away their money for fear of these soldiers. General Poyntz told me, he would send you colonel Boynton's letter to him of their carriage about Rokeby: he intends to desire it may be read in the house; that made me last week forbear writing to you, because his letters might perhaps be more satisfactory to you.

Yet, lest I might seem to forget my promise to you, I have given you a touch of the state of Cleveland, made unhappy by these roaring soldiers (most of them) formerly belonging to Newark and other garrisons of the king's. We hope that these regiments will shortly leave us. I spoke to Mr. Tireman about the letter that was left him for you, about your departure from York; he saith he did send it by Mr. Lysle at Gisborough. I pray present my service to my cousin Barnefield, and to my cousin Fleetwood, when you see them.

Your affectionate cousin and servant,

R. F.

Cleveland, June 2, 1646.

COLONEL MORGAN TO THE MARQUIS OF WORCESTER, GOVERNOR OF RAGLAND CASTLE.

Sir,—I am commanded by his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax to summon you to surrender unto me, for the use of the parliament, the castle of Ragland,[1] with all the arms, artillery, ammunition, and all manner of military provisions therein, which I conceive you have no reason to hold, being out of all hopes of relief, and that all or most of the king's garrisons are surrendered into the hands of such as the parliament hath appointed to keep them for their service; and Ragland castle being one of the last, if you refuse to surrender it upon this summons, the country will witness against you to be the disturber of the peace of this kingdom, and deprive yourself and those with you from those honourable conditions which you may now receive from

Your servant,

Tho. Morgan.

From my quarters
near Ragland,
June 3, 1646.

[1] The remainder of the correspondence between the marquis of Worcester and colonel Morgan, and between the former and sir Thomas Fairfax, together with the articles for the surrender of Ragland castle, may be found in Rushworth's Hist. Collect.

Ragland castle was not surrendered until August 20, after a very spirited defence of the marquis of Worcester, who at length threw himself upon the mercy of the parliament. *Whitlocke, Aug.* 20, 1646.

THE MARQUIS OF WORCESTER TO THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE PARLIAMENTARY FORCES BEFORE RAGLAND.

SIR,—I have received this third of June your letter, by which you manifest that you have received command from sir Thomas Fairfax to summon this place to be delivered up unto you with all, &c.

In the first place, I know not the reason, having not, to the best of my knowledge, given just cause of offence to the parliament, nor by any law of the land forfeited my inheritance, which is none of the king's to give or dispose of; but the forces I have here are the king's, which he may dispose of at his pleasure: and therefore if you please to afford me the civil courtesy that I may have reasonable time to send to his majesty to have leave to give you contentment, I shall be very ready to give you any reasonable satisfaction; for loath would I be to live the hour that it might justly be said that I have falsified the trust reposed in me: if otherwise, I am of belief that God is of more strength than all human force, and therefore must rely upon him for aid and assistance.

What honourable conditions you mean, I am ignorant of; and when I shall receive his majesty's answer, you shall find him not obstinate that desires to be esteemed

Your friend and servant,

H. WORCESTER.

Ragland, June 3, 1646.

COLONEL MORGAN TO THE MARQUIS OF WORCESTER.

My Lord,—It is no difficulty for you to find a reason for the summons of your castle, wherein, besides the present resistance, it hath ever since this war been maintained a garrison against the parliament; and whether your lordship hath forfeited your inheritance by law of the land, is to be disputed elsewhere: that your estate is none of the king's to give, is no ways denied; but yet why you rather admit his majesty's forces to defend it, unless for opposition's sake, I cannot understand. Your request of sending to the king, I acknowledge to be civil; yet seeing by former precedent, I know it to be vain; it is a thing I may not assent to; for his majesty being now with our friends the Scots, they have already proclaimed it, that no person whatsoever, formerly in arms against the parliament, shall be admitted to any conference with him. What the difference is betwixt the falsifying that trust reposed in you, and not admitting entrance to the forces of the parliament, is so easily distinguished, that I have only to give this account to your lordship: that immediately I post away your first answer to the houses, and by six to-morrow morning I expect your second; which is the present desire of,

My lord,

Your lordship's humble servant,

From my quarters before Ragland, June 3, 1646.

Tho. Morgan.

THE MARQUIS OF WORCESTER TO COLONEL MORGAN.

WORTHY SIR,—I must entreat you to make the best construction of the infirmities of an old man, in that according to your time prefixed you had not the return of this, which may give you full assurance that the true reason, if it were rightly understood, of my keeping of forces here, is not in defiance of the parliament, but to preserve myself, according to the law of nature, from the insolencies of the common soldiers on both sides: and seeing that you think it not fit to grant a reasonable and civil request, we must here, to the last man, sell our lives as dear as we can; and this not out of obstinacy or any ill affection, but merely to preserve that honour that I desire should attend me at my death. And God assist them that are in the right; and so rest

Your friend and servant,

H. WORCESTER.

Ragland, June 4, 1646.

COLONEL MORGAN TO THE SPEAKER.

TRULY HONOURABLE,—I shall now acquaint you with my proceedings in this county. According to the orders which I received from his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax yesterday, I drew up my forces within musquet shot of Ragland castle, and summoned the governor

thereof to surrender the same unto me for the use of the parliament: in answer whereof, I received a letter from the marquis of Worcester, the copy of which summons and answer I have here inclosed sent you, as also the copy of my reply, and the answer thereof under the marquis's own hands, with which I shall desire you to acquaint the honourable house; and this night, God willing, I shall make my approaches within pistol shot. My humble request is, to know whether the parliament will be pleased to grant the marquis liberty to send to his majesty; which I have refused to do, until I do receive their further pleasures therein; and in the mean time shall endeavour so to make use of all opportunities to perform the trust which the honourable houses of parliament hath been pleased to repose in me; and shall ever subscribe myself to be,

Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

THO. MORGAN.

From the Leaguer before Ragland Castle, June 4, 1646, at 8 at night.

MAJOR-GENERAL POYNTZ TO THE COMMITTEE OF ESTATES FOR SCOTLAND.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I received your letters of the first of June instant; and as I perceive your

lordships do suspend your resolutions, concerning the more northerly quartering of your army, till you have a return from the committee of both kingdoms, so I hope your lordships will not seek any thing further from me in a business of so great concernment to this poor country, till I shall likewise hear the pleasure of those above, whose commands and directions your lordships will apprehend I am engaged to observe.

My lords, I should highly injure your lordships, and myself also, if upon all occasions I should not acknowledge your lordships' great care and prudent circumspection to carry on the public affairs, wherein both nations have a reciprocal interest, so as the happy union may be preserved, and the ends which are mutually driven at, in the national league, may be best achieved. And I hope your lordships will not believe, in any complaints I have represented, I had the least intention to reflect on your lordships' particulars. And truly, my lords, I do, with many humble thanks, acknowledge it a great favour to myself, and a convincing evidence to the world of (what wise men were always satisfied in) your lordships' desires to prevent occasions of distrust; that upon my last, your lordships have given order for the disbanding of general-major Vondruske's regiment, and for the preventing the future entertainment of such as give occasion of offence; the effecting of both which will be certainly of very good

consequence, and of very honourable interpretation.

For my particular, I shall ever deem it my honour and happiness, in any civil relation, to be instrumental to the public good; so none shall be more ready to manifest what a large share thereof he doth account is lapped up in being esteemed, as he is,

My lords,

Your lordships' humble servant,

SEDENHAM POYNTZ.

York, June 4, 1646.

MAJOR-GENERAL MASSEY TO SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX.

May it please your Excellency,—Some weeks past I made an humble request unto you on the behalf of the officers and soldiers of my brigade, upon a report made unto me of some command for the reducing of them, (though from the parliament or committee of both kingdoms nothing hath hitherto been signified unto me concerning such their resolution,) that you would please to write unto the most honourable houses of parliament for a despatch of some suitable satisfaction and pay for their past service, as the best way and expedient to render them of most service to the parliament and kingdoms, (if they intend such reducement.) Unto which my request

I found your good desires; which oblige me to the return of an humble acknowledgment, although your letters' direction fell short of my hopes and humble desires, they being directed only to the committee of the west, where I could not expect so clear a resentment or so good an answer to the justice of your desires therein, having found too much remissness hitherto on their part.

As in that former I laid open my zeal and forwardness to the ready observance of all the parliaments' commands, so in this likewise I must profess myself most willing to obey, and ready to further their pleasures in my brigade's reducement or cashiering, as far forth as I shall receive their commands concerning the same;[k] but as yet I have had no notice given me of any order to have issued from the most honourable houses of parliament, or committee of both kingdoms, for the making void my charge, or weakening of my commission, (an ordinance of parliament,) a true copy whereof (inclosed) I have commended to your excellency's notice, whose wisdom, I doubt not, will (in the disposing of that force by your commands) secure my obedience against all charge or question, if any shall at any time arise concerning the same. For, sir, for myself, I neither will or dare act any thing beyond or against the parliaments' command

[k] "Referred to the committee of Ireland, to dispose of the forces under major-general Massey for the Irish service, and the rest to be disbanded." *Whitloche, June* 15, 1646.

and prescription. And in such my obedience you cannot but acknowledge me for your excellency's

Most humble and faithful servant,

EDW. MASSEY.

London, June 4, 1646.

MR. WELLER TO MR. SANCROFT.

MY LOVING FRIEND, MR. W. S.,—There is a business that I must acquaint you with, and desire your resolution in the first place. There are some merchants that have liberty from the great duke to keep a chaplain in their own house, provided that the nation come not thither.

Their names are Mr. K. Philip Williams, Mr. N. Abdy, and Mr. Thomas Barnesley, who have taken a house in Pisa: their allowance will be £50 per annum, besides gratuities, and all charges of journey and conveniencies there defrayed. The way of the journey left to the gentleman's liberty: if by sea, a ship of thirty pieces of ordnance; if by land, as he please. If you take not this place, W. Brearly is the next that I shall put on it: I have reasons to persuade you to the contrary; as, because you are well settled, without any likelihood of being disturbed; travel is dangerous, in regard of health, weather, and enemy; your friend Mr. B. is next to you, in greater want; the gentlemen you go to may alter their resolutions; your fellowship is a certainty; your friend R. W.

shall forward you; for you this; the gentlemen ingenuous. Your travel advantageous. You may go this week, or the next, third, fourth, fifth, but the sooner the better. Let me hear from you the next week, and direct yours to Mr. Stephens, at Vine Alley court, without Bishopsgate; and send a duplicate to Mrs. Heron, the day after, at the Anchor in Cheapside, by Foster lane.

The truth is, that I came to London on purpose, for the next week, to accommodate a friend in this business; and upon your answer I shall resolve.

The news you will have in books.

The Lord keep you.

Your Rd. Weller.

London, June 6, 1646.

MICH. HUDSON TO MR. CROSS AND MR. STEVENS.

Mr. Cross and Mr. Stevens,—I was known by a gentleman, one colonel Pitman, whom I met accidentally at Sandwich, and by his means was discovered to the mayor of the town,[1] and by him stayed

[1] Hudson attended the king from Oxford to Newark, and thence proceeded with the Scottish army to Newcastle. May 23, the serjeant-at-arms was sent to fetch him from Newcastle, but he withdrew from thence June 2, and was at length discovered at Rochester, in his way to London, and apprehended. See *Whitlocke, May* 23, *June* 2 *and* 8 *of this year.*

till the mayor could send up notice to the parliament: whereupon I was necessitated to discover unto them my intentions of serving the parliament, by bringing the king to the parliament, and therein desired secrecy, for which I gave them satisfactory reasons; and that the business might be imparted to none but such as you should recommend, whom I told them I had acquainted with my design, and by you it would be communicated to some of the house; and that in the interim I would go to the queen to procure letters which might make way for my acceptance to the Scottish army.

This gentleman, the bearer, will be directed by you, and make me known only to such of the house as you shall direct him, with as much secrecy as you can desire. I pray you despatch this gentleman back with an answer, to satisfy the mayor, from some of the house, as privately and speedily as is possible; for my stay in this town will be dangerous both in respect of the delay and of the discovery of the business. I presume the design is, (be honest,) that you can receive no prejudice by letting them understand the truth of my intentions; you know I acquainted you with this when I was at liberty, and in no necessity in respect of any private ends, but merely for the public good; which, God is my witness, was my intent solely: neither had I ever any design, in giving up the king to the Scots, either to serve the Scottish nation, or disserve my own; as my letters, under my hand,

which secretary Nicholas can produce, will testify fully.

With my desire to you both to despatch the bearer back with speed, I rest

Yours,

MICH. HUDSON.

Sandwich, June 7, 1646.

SIR THOMAS HANMER TO [THE SPEAKER.]

HAVING some reason to believe, in the latter end of March last, that there was a private treaty betwixt the king and the Scots, and that the king was upon a resolution to go into Scotland or to the Scottish army, and that this treaty was managed by the intervention of Montrevil, the French agent, and designed in France; I conceive this counsel and intention of the king's not only infinitely prejudicial to himself and this kingdom, but dishonourable to the English nation in deserting them, and thereby rendering their fidelity more suspected than the Scots'; and thought it my duty, both as an Englishman and as his majesty's servant, to discover my knowledge thereof in time, to such as might possibly prevent the mischiefs which I feared would attend this design; I therefore acquainted some of the committee of both kingdoms with what follows, according to the times hereafter mentioned.

[April 4.] That April 4th, one of the Scotch com-

missioners told me that he believed, and would lay a wager, that the king would be in London or in the Scots' army very suddenly, perhaps before Wednesday night next, if he could pass; and that if he came to the Scots, they would receive him and use him civilly, and stand to him in his rights. Another Scotch gentleman, being a brother-in-law of the said commissioner's, told me the same evening, that the said commissioner had in great secrecy assured him, that the king would be suddenly with the Scots; and that a messenger was sent to the king the night before from a party here, to advise him what to do; and that Newark would be speedily surrendered.

[April 10.] The said commissioner told me, that the king would endeavour to get to their army before Newark, and, if he came safe thither, would send to the parliament to offer to pass the propositions of Uxbridge; and thereupon, if the parliament refused a peace, he doubted not but two parts of three of England would be for the king, and he was sure that the whole kingdom of Scotland would be as one man for him, for then there would be no Montroses.

[April 29.] Being the fast day, the said commissioner and his brother-in-law called at my lodging; and the commissioner, with great joy, told me the news of the king's going safely out of Oxford, and that some of the Scotch horse before Newark would advance to meet him, to bring him to the parliament here, which he said smiling. I then asked whether Lesley would

receive him? and his brother answered, that my lord Lauderdale had gone down to take order for that.

[May 4.] The said commissioner's brother told me, that they did not yet hear where the king was, but perhaps he would go to Scotland first, and not to the army, that he might first disband Montrose, and settle that kingdom: that the Scots would keep all fair correspondence with the parliament, till they had satisfied the people with their papers and declarations: that they expected five thousand more out of Scotland; and that if they came to a breach with the parliament, they could (with the forces they would draw out of Ireland and Scotland) make an army of six thousand horse and twenty-six thousand foot; and should be assisted out of France with three thousand horse and ten thousand foot; and horse were expected out of Denmark; and the Swedes would certainly aid them; and they doubted not of a great party in England.

[May 7.] He confirmed the assurance of foreign succours; and said that Newark would be offered to the Scots, but it should be delivered to the parliament, to carry all shew of fairness, and then the Scotch army would immediately retreat to Newcastle; and that the king would suddenly send letters to the parliament here, and to the city of London, to offer peace upon the propositions of Uxbridge. This same night the said commissioner told me that the city of London would be for them, and that the king would send letters to the parliament and city, to the effect aforesaid.

The Saturday morning before the king's last letters were delivered to the parliament, the commissioner's said brother informed me of the tenor thereof, and that my lord Balcarris had brought copies of them to shew beforehand to their friends here; and that the messenger stayed by the way with the letters, and should not come with them to the house till they had consulted here, and agreed upon the fittest time for the delivery of them.

I understood likewise out of France, before the king's going from Oxford, that they expected daily to hear of the king's safe arrival in the north; and was informed that Montrevil, the French agent, had treated the business betwixt the king and the Scots; and when he had concluded on all things with the king, went before to Lesley's army, to take care for his reception there; and that the king had the honour and faith of the Scots engaged to him, to stick to him in the business of the militia, and to be used well in all things, if he would comply with them in the church government, which they must in honour stand for; and that the queen regent of France and the queen of England had agreed to the design of the king's going to the Scots, who labour now mainly to have the prince there also; I mean the Scots labour for his highness coming to Scotland.

THO. HANMER.

June 7, 1646.
At the committee for the army.

LADY DALKEITH TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—Whilst the princess Henrietta was on her way towards these parts, as far as Wilton, (being about six weeks since,) I presented you my humble desires to the parliament concerning the settlement of her highness under my care, with such allowance as to the parliament should seem expedient; since which time, there having been nothing determined, I am necessitated to renew those desires; and am very hopeful they will seem just, when it shall be considered that I received this trust from his majesty; that I have had his late injunction not to leave the princess; that I have preserved her highness, not without many cares and fears, from a very weak to an hopeful condition of health; that I am best acquainted with her condition and constitution; that my coming into these parts was voluntary. Yet, because time is precious with me, (in the condition I am in,) I shall endeavour to anticipate all possible objections, which (I humbly conceive) must either arise from the charge or inconveniency of dividing the king's children; or that the parliament have not full assurance and confidence in me; or, lastly, that there was no mention of any allowance in the articles of Exeter.[m]

[m] The princess Henrietta, Charles's youngest child, was born at Exeter, not long before the queen went to France. She continued there under the charge of lady Dalkeith until

To all which, I humbly, for these considerations, shall cheerfully consent to remain with her highness (as her governess) at St. James's, or elsewhere, and to be subordinate to the lord of Northumberland, and from time to time receive and follow his directions concerning the princess and her family; and so to continue no longer than (on the severest reflection upon my deportment) I shall appear without the least just exception. To the last, it is well known to all that were of the treaty, it was in my power to have had a clause for a certain allowance, had it been thought decent in respect of his majesty or for the parliament, it being supposed that where the princess and her few attendants were to be, there they should be maintained. If this be not satisfactory, I have only two requests more.

The first, that I may be reimbursed the money I have laid out during my attendance and expectation of the parliament's pleasure; and lastly, (which I am well assured will not be denied,) a favourable interpretation of my transportation of the princess to his majesty, according to the articles of Exeter.

the surrender of that city to Fairfax; on which occasion a special provision was made in the articles, that the princess and her governess should have full liberty to go to any place within England or Wales, until the king's pleasure should be known.

In the following year, her governess contrived "to steal her away, and carry her into France to the queen, whilst the king was at Newcastle, according to the command she had received." See *Clarendon*, vol. v. p. 471.

Having nothing more to add, but my earnest and humble instance to have these communicated to both the houses, and a speedy signification of their pleasure obtained, with the tender of my humble service,

I remain, Sir,

Your humble servant,

A. DALKEITH.

Oatlands, June 8, 1646.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—The complaints against major-general Massey's brigade[a] are still renewed, and, indeed, the burden is become insupportable: they not only tax the country, but by plunder, robbery, and other insolencies, do so dishearten and affright the people, that it is to be feared many will quit their habitations if timely remedy be not applied. It is true, I received an order from you to disband them: I have not endeavoured it, because I had some intimation that your pleasure was to send some money down, which certainly would make the work the more acceptable and effectual. But since, having received a letter

[a] "A petition of the committee of Wilts of the robberies and cruelties of the forces under major-general Massey in those parts, so that none could travel or remain in their houses with safety. A letter ordered to sir Thomas Fairfax to suppress them, and soon after the house ordered them for Ireland." *Whitlocke, June* 18, 1646.

from major-general Massey, implying some consequences fitter for the house to determine than myself, I thought to represent the letter to yourself, that so I might receive your further pleasure, which will find ready obedience from

Your humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

June 13, 1646.

COLONEL BIRCH TO THE GOVERNOR OF GOODRICH CASTLE.

SIR,—Before this, I question not but you expected what I have now sent unto you, which I did the rather forbear, being informed of your strong confidence of a speedy relief, and no less in your own ability to prevent such near approaches as are and may be made upon you, (being willing you should try the utmost of both;) though instead of the former, I must let you know that Oxford is to be delivered up the 19th instant.[o] In the mean time, I have been studious of your welfare, which to advance, I find no visible way left, but that you submit unto the pleasure of the high court of parliament; in whose name, and for whose use, I demand of you the possession of this castle of Goodrich;[p] which if you

[o] The treaty for the surrender of Oxford was signed June 21st; the city was surrendered to Fairfax on the 25th.

[p] On the third of August, "Colonel Birch entered some of

shall assent unto, you may command my utmost service in any thing which may tend to the public good, your honour, and future welfare.

And for those gentlemen now under your protection, if they shall put themselves under mine, I shall not deceive them of that civility which they may expect; and shall thankfully acknowledge the goodness of Almighty God in sparing a further effusion of blood: it being my desire hereby to declare unto you my especial care to prevent; which, if you shall occasion by your refusal, (that being at another time honourable which now will not appear to be the part of a soldier, whose prudence is required as well as resolution,) but that you shall persist to a further enraging of those under my command, so that you make me incapable of doing that which, it may be, you may think (and not without ground, were it not the eleventh hour) to have at last, and that blood and utter ruin follow, I hereby desire to be excused if I prosecute my present business in such a way as will be grievous unto him, who rather desires to approve himself

Your real friend,

JOHN BIRCH.

June 13, 1646,
at 2 o'clock.

the works of Goodrich castle; whereupon the garrison sent a white flag for parley, which Birch refused, and went on storming, and they all submitted to mercy." *Whitlocke, Aug.* 3, 1646.

P. S. That you may perceive my willingness to give you full satisfaction in any scruple that you may make hereunto; if you desire it, myself, with two gentlemen more, will give you the meeting with the like number, where you please; or if you desire no such satisfaction, I shall desire your answer in writing within twenty-four hours: which length of time I am willing to give you, because to me it looks like a business of great concernment, to yourself especially, because you bind my hands from any more lines passing in this business.

SIR HENRY LINGEN, GOVERNOR OF GOODRICH CASTLE, TO COL. BIRCH.

Sir,—I received yesterday a summons from you, wherein you demand of me this castle to be delivered into your hands for the use of the parliament. The king placed me in it, by his commission, to keep it for him and to his use, and, until I shall receive an immediate order or command from him to the contrary, I shall do it to the uttermost of my power; otherwise I conceive I should not discharge the part of a soldier and an honest man, which I hope to carry with me to my grave. As for the information you had of my strong confidence of a speedy relief, truly it was a thing I neither desired nor expected in so short a time; yet happily may have it before my

necessity will require it; as for the delivering up of Oxford, (if it be so,) the fortune of another man's command shall not be a leading case for my loyalty, and the trust reposed in me, and this I will assure you is the resolution of

Your loving friend,
HEN. LINGEN.

Cotheridge Castle,
June 14, 1646.

COLONEL BIRCH TO SIR H. LINGEN.

SIR,—I have received your resolution by your drummer, which far better contents those under my command than myself, who really desired your welfare.

In honour, Sir,
Your loving friend,
J. B.

At the Leaguer,
June 14, 1646,
4 o'clock.

MR. WELLER TO MR. SANCROFT.

GOOD SIR,—You cannot imagine how much I am pleased with your staying at home.[q] I must confess that I tendered an opportunity to you, but with

[q] See before, p. 92.

jealousy lest you should accept it, for I ever thought it too great a hazard to adventure such a vessel on a churlish wave; and if I should, I would have given fifty per cent. for insurance.

I must tell you, that the Mediterranean affords no such jewels, not on the Sardinian coast. When the Arras men fish for coral, it would have been a treasure for their whole voyage if they should have dredged up but a piece of your ivory. And should news of such a prize have been brought to me at any piazza, I would have given more for it than for the best branch of that submarine plant.

Sir, stay at home; let England enjoy that which is given; if she be now a step, yet she was your mother. Howsoever, pity me; I must not let you go unless I might go with you. Yet, sir, think not that it is only my interest that suggested reasons for your refusal; I shall give you better at the next meeting, which, if you please, may be on Thursday.

Tuus, R. W.

June 16, 1646.

SIR THO. FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

Mr. Speaker,—According to the articles I agreed unto upon the surrender of Exeter, I am obliged to grant a safe conduct for the persons of those excepted in the propositions of parliament, to go unto the parliament, to obtain the composition of

their estates, and indemnity for their persons. I have therefore thought fit to yield unto the desire of the earl of Bristol herein, in granting him a safe conduct for that purpose; humbly leaving it to the honourable house to do therein as they in their wisdoms shall see most fit.

In case the house shall not think fit to admit him to composition, then I shall grant him a pass to go beyond seas, according to the said articles.[r]

Your most humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Water Eaton,
June 16, 1646.

COLONEL BIRCH TO THE SPEAKER.

TRULY HONOURABLE,—In my last I gave you an account of all passages here, since which I sent in my summons, here inclosed, but they within resolve to stand it out, as you may perceive by their answer: they are excepted persons, and Papists very desperate: they never left sallying whilst they had one horse to sally out with, having lost in all, upon their sallies, above one hundred.

I am approached within the reach of their stones, which they throw abundantly, and am now almost ready to play upon them with a mortar piece, which I have cast here, carrying a shell of above two

[r] See post, p. 123.

hundred weight; and have planted my battery, and am going on with my mines; for effecting of all which, a considerable quantity of powder will be speedily necessary.

I therefore humbly entreat your honour will be pleased to move the honourable house for eighty barrels, which will much forward the service, and exceedingly engage

Your honour's most faithful and thankful servant,

JOHN BIRCH.

From Goodrich,
June 18, 1646.

MAJOR-GENERAL POYNTZ TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—My employment abroad being now more specially reduced to the security of this garrison wherewith I am particularly entrusted, I cannot, without just blame, cease to acquaint you with the imperfect fortifications thereof. I did formerly mention it to you, and since solicited the lord mayor and the aldermen to further it, which they seem very willing to, but pleaded the want of moneys.

Sir, I desire you will be pleased to publish it to the house, that their pleasure therein may be signified; and withal to acquaint them, that sir John Bourchier, high sheriff for this county, desires the assizes may be held in Clifford's tower, the chief strength of this city, and the magazine-general for this army; which,

in respect of my trust, I dare not yield to without authority of parliament.

This, and whatsover you please to command, shall be readily observed and faithfully endeavoured by,

Sir, your most humble servant,

SEDENHAM POYNTZ.

York, June 21, 1646.

MICHAEL HUDSON TO MR. BROWN AT LINCOLN'S INN.

SIR,—I am much amazed to hear that the Scots should, with so much confidence, disavow the knowledge of those particulars which I have declared in my examination concerning them, and pretend them to be mere inventions of mine own, purposely to make a division between the two nations.

I wish they had been as much ashamed to do unworthily, as (it seems) they are ashamed to hear of their unworthy actions. God is my witness, I had no design, in this discovery, (out of any hatred, malice, or other self ends,) to injure the Scots by any forged untruths; but merely, out of conscience of my duty towards my king and country, to prevent those mischiefs which might fall upon both by such designs, which tended more to private ends than the public good, either of the king or this kingdom; and such designs, indeed, I did imagine the Scots might

have, after I found they had falsified their trust both to king and parliament; and thereupon I resolved to reveal (though not so suddenly as I was necessitated by reason of my unexpected surprisal) the whole truth of such late passages as had fallen within the compass of my knowledge; wherein I was careful to deal so faithfully, that if the Scots have not injured themselves in their actions, I am confident I have not injured them in my relations.

Yet I hear they insist much upon their own justification, and allege two reasons why credit should rather be given to their peremptory denial, than to my confident assertion in matters concerning themselves: viz. 1. their known integrity; 2. my known infamy.

As for the former, I shall leave it wholly to you to judge of, who have had more experience of their actions than myself, excepting only in these late passages betwixt the king and them, of which I have lately made a relation, but how true, is still, as it seems, the point in question, by reason of the blemished reputation of the relator.

And therefore, seeing there is no other concurrent evidence besides mine own, to confirm the truth of what I have delivered concerning their late deportment in matters agitated betwixt the king and them, which so much concerns the public, (unless perhaps the earl of Ormond's letter[a] may give some light to

[a] This seems to allude to a letter written by Charles, before

those passages,) and that they endeavoured to detract from my testimony by casting public aspersions upon me; I shall desire, if you think fit, to have the privilege to make my public defence to their public calumnies: which request of mine, I confess, doth not proceed from any pharisaical opinion of mine own innocency from all manner of errors, follies, and vanities, (and those also such as I am not ambitious, if there were not a public necessity in it, to expose to public censure;) but from a confidence, grounded upon a consciousness to myself, of mine own innocency from any such enormities as may render me a man of so monstrous and diabolical a disposition, as by lies and forgeries to endeavour the dissolution of the happy union of these two kingdoms: for the prevention whereof, this juggling and dissimulation, which the Scots have practised both with king and parliament, cannot (in my weak judgment) be the safest way; nor yet their sinister practices to evade those truths which I have

he left Oxford, to the marquis of Ormond, in which he expressed his intention of giving himself up to the Scots. Ormond was desired by the king to communicate this letter "to all his loyal subjects;" and accordingly he sent it express to major-general Monroe, the Scots' commander-in-chief in Ireland, as to one "who had a good title to the knowledge thereof." This circumstance occasioned much suspicion of the fidelity of the Scots to the cause of the parliament. The whole correspondence is to be found in Rushworth, Hist. Coll. part iv. vol. i. p. 266, &c.

revealed, seeing a short time must, of necessity, make them yet more manifest to the whole world.

Sir, I do remember I left a letter of Montrevil's at Woodstock, which, if it can be found, I believe will decide this question, and put all out of dispute; unless they can persuade people that Montrevil and I should conspire together to forge letters by pleasure, to serve for evidence in matters which came to pass ten weeks after they were writ.

Montrevil's letter was writ in English; the superscription directed to Edmund Longe of Bristol; and upon the inside of the same leaf something was writ about commodities, for a blind; and in the white leaf was expressed the cause of the Scots failing to meet at Harborough,[t] which was writ with a water which doth not at all appear upon the paper; but I believe I can give directions how to read it, for I saw Montrevil write with that water. It bears date April 10. This letter was open; and upon Tuesday April 14, (when I returned from Woodstock to Southwell,) because I could not conveniently get into Oxford before my return, I writ another letter, wherein I inclosed this, and directed mine to Matthew Hutchinson; both these I delivered unsealed, April 14, to John Bignall, a baker in Woodstock. and left him half a crown to get them sent unsealed into Oxford, to secretary

[t] Hudson, in his examination, stated that the French agent, Montrevil, was to have met the king at Harborough, but did not. See *Whitlocke, June* 18, 1646.

Nicholas, which he undertook: but at my return back upon Saturday, April 18, John Bignall told me he could not get them sent, and so I wished him to burn or tear them at his leisure; and whether he may have them yet or not is very doubtful, for I made no great account of them, in regard I knew none could understand them; and haply he, having laid them up in a secure place, might forget to burn them. However, I pray let not the poor man be brought into any trouble about them: for if he have them, he will deliver them to any who shall demand them as from me, upon this token; that when I last parted from him, he was going to my lord Lovelace's steward to Water Eaton for tobacco, and was stopped by the guards at an alehouse in the way, and had the tobacco sent thither to him by an old man.

Sir, I pray be pleased to take poor Mrs. Mortimer into your consideration; for I heard yesterday she was still in custody, and I doubt she wants wherewith to buy her bread.

I writ two lines to Mr. Oxenden about my horse and money, because I heard the sergeant intended to seize and keep both for fees; and desired him to acquaint you with it, when he saw a fit opportunity: and that if you thought fit, I might receive both, and compound with the sergeant as well as I could, unless you please to moderate the business yourself. Hoping you will be pleased to consider my distressed condition at this time, when I am altogether unable to

relieve myself, that out of that which was mine own something may be reserved for the subsistence of,

Sir,

Your much obliged servant,

MICH. HUDSON.

London House,
June 24, 1646.

Sir, I remember one clause in my examination which is not fully expressed according to my sense and meaning, wherein I desire the defect may be supplied; because I perceive those who find themselves pricked with truth, endeavour to take advantages of any mistakes.

The business was concerning the militia; wherein you set down my opinion to be, that absolutely I thought the king would yield it: but my expressions always related to other propositions concerning the queen and delinquents; wherein, if the king himself were satisfied, I believed he might be persuaded to condescend to them.

PRINCES RUPERT AND MAURICE TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—We received, upon Saturday the 27th of this month, two votes passed by the house of commons:[t] the

[t] "Order for an express to be sent to prince Rupert and prince Maurice, that the parliament took notice of their breach of the Oxford articles, by coming so near to London as Oat-

one, a declaration that we had broken the articles upon the surrender of Oxford; the other, that we should within ten days repair to the sea side, and forthwith depart the kingdom. Our desire to you is, that you would be pleased to acquaint the house with this our clear profession: that we were very far from any intention, in our coming to or being in this place, of giving offence to the parliament; with whom we intended, and hoped, by the best means we could possibly use, to be better understood. And, sir, we were very far from any thought that, by coming hither, we should break and lose the benefit of those articles, by which we conceived we had good furtherance and access for the gaining that peace we so much desired.

Our apprehension concerning our liberty by those articles stood thus:—the third article particularly naming us, gives us, in the former part thereof, a liberty of repairing towards London, but with a limitation of not coming within twenty miles of the same; and the latter part of that article giveth us the benefit of the ensuing articles that may concern us.

lands; and requiring them to transport themselves beyond seas within ten days, if it could be, or else to lose the benefit of those articles." *Whitlocke, June* 25, 1646.

"The princes Rupert and Maurice sent a very respectful answer to the parliaments' letter to them, 'that they were sorry that they had given them any offence, had no intention to do it, and would obey their orders.'" *Ibid. June* 30.

The limitation in the former part of the article was set down when it was not known what liberty would be given to other persons, and because it was foreseen that possibly a further liberty and other benefit might be obtained in the following articles, (which after came to pass.) This clause was asked, and granted: that we should have the same liberty and benefit with others; and we are confident there was not an expression or thought of putting us into a worse condition than all others, but we are sure of very many expressions to the contrary.

And therefore, sir, looking upon the eleventh article, whereby all persons in Oxford are comprised in this capitulation, (saving persons excepted,) having estates real or personal liable to sequestration, shall have liberty and the General's pass and protection to go to London to attend their composition, or elsewhere, upon their necessary occasions. And upon the twelfth, that no persons included in this capitulation (except persons before-mentioned to be excepted) shall be molested or questioned for any thing said or done concerning this war, submitting to composition; and the persons excepted shall have the benefit of this article during six months and after, if they be admitted to, and agree for composition. And upon the thirteenth, that the persons excepted shall have liberty to repair to London, to make their peace.

And upon the ninth article, if we should be looked

upon as strangers, we are to have the benefit of the articles; and upon our pass from the General, giving express liberty to any place, without any limitation or restraint, we did not doubt but that we had the liberty of this place; the benefit whereof, in our accommodation for the house, came more into our thoughts than the distance or number of miles from London, of which we had no doubt at all.

Sir, Our earnest desire is, we may be understood to offer all this, not by way of disputing with the parliament, but as a most clear evidence that the utmost of what we have done in this is very far from any wilfulness or purpose to offend the parliament, and from any thought that we could thereby have prejudiced ourselves; having firmly resolved, to our best power, to assist and advance the peace of this kingdom, and to give that regard that is just and due to those that represent it.

Having thus truly represented our own apprehension, and not knowing the motive that induced the parliament to those votes, we are not able (to our trouble) to know the way to give them further satisfaction, until they be pleased to give us time and means that we may endeavour it; which we cannot doubt to find from them, that never fail to hear before they finally judge, if they be asked it.

Sir, You will do us a favour if you will let us hear timely of this, being resolved not to continue where the parliament may have any thought we should not

be, longer than the first minute of our possible removing.

This bearer will convey your favour to us,

Your loving friends,

RUPERT AND MAURICE.

Oatlands,
June 28, 1646.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO THE SPEAKER.

GOOD MR. SPEAKER,—I have thought fit to accompany the inclosed letter[u] from sir Thomas Fairfax with a few lines, to the end that my coming in person to attend the parliament may not cause any offence in them towards me, as I am confident it will not when my respectful proceedings shall be known unto them.

About a month since, I was a petitioner unto the house of peers, and in my petition was a suitor unto them, that my said petition might be communicated unto the honourable house of commons; but have gotten no knowledge whether it were so or no. But I received answer by letter from the lord of Manchester, speaker of the house of peers pro tempore, that their lordships left me to take the benefit of the "articles of Exeter, which they would carefully observe." By the said articles of Exeter, in express words, the liberty to attend the parliament is granted

[u] See Fairfax's letter, p. 106.

unto me; and sir Thomas Fairfax hath, according to the said articles, given me his safe conduct to go unto London and attend the parliament.

So that having the allowance by those articles, the leave of the house of peers to enjoy the benefit of them, and the safe conduct of the General, I hope my coming to London will not displease that honourable house; I engaging my honour (as hereby I do) that I will not do any thing, either by act or correspondency, to the disservice of the parliament. And forasmuch as during four months time it is allowed by the said articles, to all excepted persons to endeavour to make their peace and composition with the parliament, I hope my humble endeavours in that kind will not be displeasing unto that honourable house; and to that end I have presented an humble petition again unto the house of peers, with my humble desire that they would be pleased to communicate it with that honourable house.

And so, with my service, I rest

Your most humble servant,

BRISTOL.

June 29, 1646.

PRINCE RUPERT TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—That I might the readilyer observe the order of the parliament, I yesternight sent my letters

to the committee residing at Kingston, to give order for four carts and ten post horses, with their furniture, to be sent in to me to Oatlands this morning by nine o'clock. But this being denied me, I desire your pass and warrant for pressing of horses and carts as I go along, for which I promise to pay the due rates. This shall oblige

Your very loving friend,

RUPERT.

Oatlands,
June 29, 1646.

PRINCE CHARLES LODOVIC TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—Having received information from Munster and Osnabruk, that in whatsoever shall be agreed at the general treaty concerning my interests, the consent of all my brothers will be required afore the conclusion thereof; I am desirous to confer with my brothers Rupert and Maurice,[r] afore their departure out of this kingdom, about it, and other domestic affairs which do concern us, if it may stand with the liking of the parliament; without which I would not undertake it, were it never so important to me.

And therefore I desire you to acquaint the house of commons herewith, and to let me know their sense

[r] "The prince elector had leave to go and see his brethren." *Whitlocke, June* 30, 1646.

in it; whereby I do not at all intend to retard my said brothers' journey, but shall endeavour to efface any such impressions as the enemies of these kingdoms, and of our family beyond the seas, (making use of their present distress,) may fix upon them to their own and our family's prejudice.

I am your most affectionate friend,

CHARLES LODOVIC.

Whitehall, June 30, 1646.

PRINCE RUPERT TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—It was this day, after dinner, ere I first received the pleasure of the honourable house of commons, signified in a letter from sir Richard Onslow and three other gentlemen, members of the house, concerning passes and warrants for accommodating me and my brother, with our servants, goods, and horses, in our way to Dover.

I pray, sir, present to the honourable house my willingness to observe their order, by all the speed I can possible; and withal, that in regard so many of the ten assigned days are already spent, and for that myself and brother have some servants behind at Worcester, whom we would not willingly leave behind us, I much desire there may be eight or ten days more allowed us.[x]

[x] "Prince Rupert and prince Maurice took shipping." *Whitlocke, July* 9, 1646.

It will be to-morrow night, at soonest, before I can receive the house's pleasure concerning our passes, which I also desire may be taken into consideration.

I have here underset the names of our servants as yet at Worcester, for whose more speedy repair to us before we take shipping, I desire you, sir, to give order they may have passes, and other accommodations for the way.

By these favours you will very much oblige,

Sir,

Your very loving friend,

RUPERT.

Guildford,
July 1, 1646.

Mr. Kempson, secretary to my brother.
——————— his brother.
——————— their servants.
John Pitt.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—It is not unknown unto you that my coming to London (besides the public faith of the articles of Exeter, and the safe conduct of sir Thomas Fairfax) was likewise upon the assurance of the house of peers, that they would carefully observe the said articles, and that I might take the benefit of them.

Of my coming to this place, I gave notice to that honourable house; and of my intention to use my

being here with all privacy and modesty, as I have done, having never once stirred out of my lodging; so that I hope I have not done any thing hitherto that may be of distaste unto that honourable house, neither will I for the future; but will, (according to an order shewed unto me by the sergeant of that house,) with all possible speed, depart this city, unless I may (for the despatch of some business, allowed unto me by the articles, wherein I must necessarily use the advice of lawyers) be permitted by that house for one week (or fewer days, if that be thought too long) to remain where I am now lodged. But if it shall not stand with the liking of the honourable house, no inconvenience of mine own shall make me delay the obeying of their order in removing out of the line.

And (in regard their pleasure is that I go beyond the seas) I beseech you I may have your pass, by order of that house, so to do,[7] at any port, and in such sort as is contained in the safe conduct of sir Thomas Fairfax, (a copy whereof I send herewith;) with an addition of leave to carry some small sum of money, not exceeding £200.

And since I am so unhappy as (in the point of being an excepted person) not to be heard, nor to be admitted to composition, I submit thereunto without further importuning that honourable house. But forasmuch as three months of the time which was allowed me hath been spent in endeavouring to

[7] "Order for a pass for the earl of Bristol, to go beyond sea, according to Exeter articles." *Whitlocke, July* 11, 1646.

be admitted to composition; and for the first six weeks, there was an order that all those that had served the king should not be admitted within the line; and that there was no negative answer that the excepted persons should not be admitted to composition until the 30th of June; I was very hopeful, both through the belief I had of my not deserving this said mark of exception, and by the precedent of others, to whom that house hath been pleased to shew favour, that I might have been successful likewise in my humble endeavours; whereby the time allowed me by the articles is far elapsed.

My humble suit unto that honourable house is, that I may be admitted, before my going beyond the seas, to the benefit of the elapsed months, or to so many of them as they shall please; engaging myself not to come within forty miles of London, nor to do any thing in the mean time to the disservice of the parliament. If this my humble suit may not be admitted, I shall then desire a pass; and I shall (without seeing my wife and family, and without being in any sort provided for so sad a journey) hasten to the next port to embark myself, and go whither the fairest wind shall drive me; or (if I could know it) to that place which would least distaste, or be the least subject to jealousies. And so, with my service unto you, I rest

Your humble servant,

BRISTOL.

July 3, 1646.

THE DUKE OF YORK* TO ———

My Lord,—The solitariness of this place, and the daily increase of the plague in this city, invite me to entreat your lordship's furtherance of my speedy removal: that if coaches be not already sent for me, they may come with the first opportunity.

I understand by my servant Leigh, that there is consigned into your lordship's hands £600 for my use. I have formerly contracted divers little debts for several necessaries, and now of late my servants have engaged themselves for the expenses of my household and stables, without which I had not means to eat: the particulars thereof my servant Charles May will shew your lordship a note, for which purpose I now send him to attend your lordship. I shall be very loath to leave this town with the just cries of poor men against me: £200 will discharge all these. Let me desire you that these my

* The duke of York, afterwards James II., was at this time about fourteen years of age: he had fallen into the power of the parliament at the surrender of Oxford; the result of this application for a remove was "a letter from both houses inviting him to come to London." *Whitlocke, July* 22, 1646. On the 28th of the same month, "he came to town, and was met by the earl of Northumberland, and divers lords and gentlemen, and conveyed in great and fitting state to St. James's." *Ibid. June*, 28. He was subsequently put under the charge of the earl of Northumberland; who, as Clarendon says, "treated him in all respects as was suitable to his birth and his own duty." *Hist. Rebell.* vol. v. p. 453.

debts may be discharged, and my honour preserved, wherein you shall do a favour which shall be readily acknowledged by,

My lord,

Your affectionate friend,

YORK.

Oxon, July 16, 1646.

COLONEL THOMAS BULSTRODE TO THE SPEAKER.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,— My duty enjoineth me to render you an account of our affairs here. I formerly received an order of the honourable house of commons, that Mr. Fountayne,[a] whom I received as colonel Raynsborough's prisoner, should be sent in safeguard to Bristol castle; but by whom this service should be performed, the order did not specify. The horse and foot of this county being then in service against Boarstall garrison, I certified you in my last that I could not perform the expected service of transmitting the prisoner, without drawing off my forces from before Boarstall, which I must not do without directions of the house of commons in point.

I received no answer from you, nor order from the house as yet, concerning that business; neither hath

[a] "A lawyer of eminency, who had been imprisoned, and banished London, for his declared affection to the crown." *Clarend.* vol. v. p. 86.

it been in my power to execute the order hitherto, without considerable prejudice to the state. For the right honourable lieutenant-general Cromwell can inform the house, that immediately after the reducing of Boarstall,[b] all my forces, by the lieutenant-general's command, marched to Faringdon; and upon the reducing of Faringdon,[c] they were commanded to Wallingford and the parts thereabouts, where they now are in actual and considerable service. Since my entrance upon that service with my forces, there is come unto my hands an order of the honourable house of commons, which is unto me a total and final disenabling of me to dispose of Mr. Fountayne, according to their former order.

The order which I received is, that the garrison of Aylesbury be dismantled, and all the forces of the county of Bucks be disbanded, unless the parliament shall think fit otherwise to dispose of them. Sir, this order was not unwelcome, most of my officers being freeholders of the county, that have families which would be glad to re-enjoy them; yet I conceive it fit to respite the execution of the order, till Wallingford, the remaining scourge of this county, were reduced, and till I should receive the sense of the house of commons, whether they would further use our forces or not, according to the power re-

[b] Boarstall house was surrendered to the parliament, June 8. *Whitlocke.*

[c] Faringdon was surrendered June 25. *Ibid.*

served in the order. And this my intention I intimated unto the committee of our county at Aylesbury, by a letter which I sent them from my quarters near Wallingford.

Sir, This my motion was not resented as I expected. It is the misery of this county, that our committee is divided: a party there is of them, that put forth their endeavours, and have been firm and constant unto the proceedings of the parliament, *ab initio*, in promoting the public service; in making provision to pay the forces of the county, and to pay arrears in course; and in levying the penalties inflicted by ordinance upon delinquents.

And there is a party that seldom appear at the committee but when some personal or private respect does draw them thither; whose employment, when they come, is to eventerate the proceedings of the other, to gratify notorious malignants; to dissolve former orders for levying of moneys according to the ordinances, or at least to suspend them; and so to dispose of the treasury, that the forces of the county, in actual service of the state, may be frustrated of their pay.

Sir, Of this number is Mr. Thomas Terill and some others; who, taking advantage of the order for dismantling and disbanding, and obtaining the General's assent, (though with some discontent unto himself,) forthwith dismantled the works of this garrison, and disbanded all the forces which I left in it, without

leaving the least guard, either upon the artillery, or magazine, or prisoners; insomuch as Mr. Fountayne had been by his means enlarged, had he not voluntarily confined himself with one of my disbanded captains. The same night that these forces were disbanded, the magazine was broken open, and what is lost is yet unknown, insomuch as the other party of the committee were constrained to list men again for the securing of the artillery and magazine, and to secure Boarstall while it is slighting.

Sir, Mr. Terill and his party, not only by this means frustrated the parliament's disposal of a fourth part of my regiment, which is already disbanded, but they endeavoured and do endeavour to frustrate their disposal of the residue of the forces of this county; for they dealt with the General very importunately to disband all the forces forthwith, notwithstanding the reservation specified in the order.

They likewise writ unto me, forthwith to return from the Leaguer at Wallingford with my forces, and to disband them withal, tacitly menacing to withhold our pay during our abode in that service; which they have endeavoured to do accordingly, as appeareth by their orders in point. Other orders they have made to divert the treasury unto other uses; and to render the weekly assessments and other public treasure improbable, if not impossible, to be received. And, as I am informed by some honest persons in the public employment, they have issued out warrants

into those parts of the county where themselves are interested, to stay the further payment of their usual contributions: all which is done purposely to necessitate a present disbanding. Amongst other of their orders, of the last edition, there is one, wherein they assert the honesty and good demeanour of a person detected of, and sequestered for, notorious malignancy, by the committee for scandalous ministers.

Sir, I humbly pray that the honourable house of commons may be acquainted of the truth of these our present affairs. That I may receive their order how to dispose of Mr. Fountayne; how the regiment shall be disposed of; whether it be their pleasure that I forthwith draw off from Wallingford and disband, or whether we shall continue in that service till that garrison be reduced, and then immediately disband. All my officers being resolved unanimously, that whatsoever the parliament commandeth us, that we will observe and do; and whither they command us to go, thither we will go. Only we desire, that, whilst we continue in their service, a settled course may be taken, that my soldiers, who carry their lives in their hands, may receive their pay, which is the life of their lives.

In expectation of orders in these particulars, I rest,

Sir, your most humble servant,

THOMAS BULSTRODE.

Aylesbury,
July 22, 1646.

COLONEL MORGAN TO THE SPEAKER.

HONOURABLE SIR,—Upon the 12th instant I sent you a letter, with an account of my proceedings before Ragland Castle, which I am informed did miscarry, and therefore shall now give you an account of what I then writ.

Upon Sunday the 12th instant, the enemy made a very desperate sally, with eighty horse and four hundred foot, but were beaten in within half an hour's time: in which action I lost an ensign and two foot soldiers; and killed of theirs, two captains and divers reformadoes and common soldiers. The day following, the two regiments which the General appointed for this service (viz. major-general Skippon's and colonel Herbert's) came up; since which time the enemy hath made two sallies, but durst not engage too far from their works, so that I could do no great execution upon them. Before they came up, I had raised a battery, and had beat down the battlements and dismounted all their ordnance, which they had planted upon their high towers; and captain Hooper, the engineer, which the General sent to me, goes on very well with our line and approaches, with much security, and I hope to be within half pistol shot of their works by the end of this week.

I am informed that there are many reports of great loss of men which I have received before this castle. To certify you of the truth therein, I do assure you, all

that I have lost since I came first before it, is twenty-two: the only considerable man was major White, and no other officer but an ensign; and am confident the enemy hath lost double that number at the least, and many of them very considerable men. They still remain very obstinate, and depend only on the castle of Glamorgan and the Irish rebels for their relief.

I doubt not but, by God's assistance, I shall be able to give a good account of this service to the parliament; and shall ever remain

Your honour's most humble servant,

THO. MORGAN.

From the Leaguer before Ragland Castle, July 23, 1646.

COLONEL LANGHORNE TO THE SPEAKER.

HONOURABLE SIR,—Your many noble favours I partake of for myself, draw me beyond the bounds of duty to molest you for my friends; yet if the merits of this gentleman, (colonel Powell,) in his public engagements, receive but the balance of justice, they will so far intercede for him, I need not plead my interest in him.

It is well known in what hopeful ways he was in the parliament's service in Ireland, when Pembrokeshire began to appear in danger of an enemy. The sense of his own country's cause, and that the

quarrel in both kingdoms was but one, soon drew him to quit his command and forego his arrears in Ireland, and repair home; where, from the first standing up of a weak inconsiderable party for the parliament, he approved his valour and fidelity. His actions have not been so obscure that they need my publication; nor his reward hitherto of such consideration, that may hold any proportion with his desert. I must confess, in the lowest ebb of our fortunes I have been much confirmed by him in my resolutions, when there were but four persons that had not deserted me.

I humbly crave his good service may be so far taken into consideration, that himself and others may receive encouragement to truth and gallantry, wheresoever the state shall employ them; and the addition of this favour shall engage me yet much more,

Sir,

Your very thankful and humble servant,

ROWLAND LANGHORNE.

Haverfordwest,
July 24, 1646.

MR. RUSHWORTH TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—There being a great mutiny in Wallingford among the soldiers, the governor[d] sent to me to be at Wallingford betimes on Monday morning with passes, for he was resolved then to march forth, (though

[d] Colonel Blagge.

Wednesday was the time appointed.[e] Accordingly, I went thither; being no sooner let in at the drawbridge, but the mutineers got notice of it, and presently beat drums, and drew their men together before the castle.

The governor drew his men on the line, and planted a piece of ordnance against them.

They would have capitulated: the governor refused it, and desired lieutenant-colonel Jackson to draw the General's regiment of foot between the castle and the mutineers, that as colonel Blagge marched forth, he might march in; which accordingly he did.

The mutineers perceiving it, and hearing they should have no passes, or benefit of the articles, instantly laid down arms and submitted: so this afternoon, towards evening, they marched forth according to their articles, and adjutant-general Evelyn[f] took possession of the garrison, with all the ordnance, arms, and ammunition therein, for the service of the parliament.

It may be truly said, it is the strongest hold in the

[e] "Letters informed the surrender of Wallingford. That colonel Blagge sold the corn and provisions there, and put the money in his own purse, without giving one penny of it to the soldiers, though much pay was in arrear to them; and they were so much discontented at the greediness of their governor, that they fell into a mutiny, which caused Blagge to surrender the castle two days sooner that it was agreed to be." *Whitlocke, July* 28, 1646.

[f] Evelyn was nominated by Fairfax to be governor of Wallingford, and approved by the house. *Id. ibid.*

three kingdoms, it is so naturally and artificially fortified: three moats about the castle, one of them sixty feet in breadth, and a pike's length in depth. About nine hundred officers and soldiers marched forth. The least plunder and baggage that ever I yet see in any garrison. Wheat, oats, wood, and hay being the only things of value in the garrison.

If you please to move the house to give some speedy order concerning the disposing of the Berkshire and Oxfordshire forces, that were before Wallingford; till then they lie upon quarter in the country.

This is all I have at present to trouble you with.

I am your faithful and humble servant,

Jo. RUSHWORTH.

July 27, 1646.

THE COMMITTEE AT CHESTER TO COLONEL BOOTH AND OTHERS.

GENTLEMEN,—We still stand much engaged to you for your care and pains in the business of the county, and we have every week new occasion to write unto you concerning it.

We have had several mutinies; which are not yet punished, nor absolutely appeased. The soldiery take great dislike at the excise;[s] the city and county almost generally distaste it.

[s] It is remarked by Clarendon, that the imposition of excise

The gentlemen that are employed have carried themselves very well in it, and endeavour, by all fair means, to effect the same; but our fear is, that they will not perfect the business; but some constraint must be used, otherwise little will be made of it. To prevent present evil, we have told the soldiers that they are to be paid forth of it; and if that take not, there is no way left to satisfy them; and that we hope there will speedily be an order for that purpose.

We do assure you, if the parliament resolve not upon some speedy way to send moneys for disbanding of them, this county is in a sadder condition, in its own particular, than it was when the enemy prevailed: we must earnestly entreat you to use your endeavours for an order to that purpose. The markets have been extreme small upon the rumour of the excise; the people say they shall have a second siege. The gentlemen that are employed must not be pressed to use any extremity, until such time as there be a civil magistrate of the city, and the soldiers either satisfied or appeased.

was a burden which the people of England had hitherto reproached other nations with, as a mark of slavery, and never feared by themselves. An attempt was made to impose such a tax in 1643, but was successfully resisted by the lords: in the following year, however, an excise was imposed on wine, beer, ale, and other commodities, for the purpose of carrying on the war; but with this express promise, that it should be continued no longer than to the end of the war, and then laid down and utterly abolished. See *Clarendon*, vol. iv. p. 52 and 418.

We extremely fear, if the soldiery join not in the tumult, yet all or most of them will stand apart, and will not assist their officers: and what greater evil may come thereof, more than the damage in the excise in this city, which hath cost much blood, we know not, but leave to your more serious consideration; and shall earnestly desire you to go to the chief commissioners of excise, and acquaint them with these things, and desire them not to press the sub-commissioners here to do any thing till city and county be in a better condition; and so, with our best respects to you, we remain

Your faithful friends to serve you,

WILL. MASSEY.
JO. WETTENHALL.
HENRY BIRKENED.
WILLIAM DAVIES.

Chester, Aug. 1, 1646.

We have sent to the deputy-lieutenants to take what speedy course they can for the pacifying of the soldiery, which we conceive impossible to be done without a speedy supply of some considerable sum of money from above, for which we doubt not of your uttermost endeavours.

SIR THO. FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—At the earnest desire of the committee and gentlemen of Worcestershire, that colonel

Rainsborough might be governor of Worcester,[h] and their recommendation of his discreet carriage in the taking in of that city; I thought good, both for the country's satisfaction and his encouragement, to give him the charge of it, and I do desire your approbation. I need not give you any arguments, to move you to it, seeing you have found him very faithful, valiant, and successful in many undertakings since you put him under my command.

I shall take leave to put you again in mind of the reducement of major-general Massey's horse;[i] which I do the rather, because they have made a most dishonourable breach upon the articles of Worcester, by plundering and violating those that marched out of that city, and yet the regiment appointed to that service I did always take (and still do) to be the best of the whole; but besides, I am advertised that those who are quartered west do commit great robberies and insolencies in those parts. The money assigned for the reducement of them, according to

[h] The city of Worcester was agreed to be surrendered to colonel Rainsborough, for the parliament, on the 22nd of July.

[i] In consequence of the many complaints made of the ill conduct of Massey's forces, it was referred to the committee of the west to send them into Ireland, or disband them: the latter course was resolved on; but it was thought prudent that Fairfax and Ireton should draw near Massey's quarters with two regiments of horse, while the order for their disbanding was being carried into effect. The disbanding was effected without disturbance, and with Fairfax's usual decision and promptitude. See *Godwin's Hist. of the Commonwealth*, b. ii. c. 5.

former order, I desire may be sent down with all speed, or that I may have liberty to pursue the said order of reducement without it: for truly, sir, I do judge the work so necessary to be done, and so much a relief to the people and counties where they come, that I shall cheerfully undertake it, when I receive your commands for it.

I remain your humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Bath, Aug. 1, 1646.

SIR SIMONDS DEWES[k] TO SIR JOHN POTTS.[l]

SIR,—Your lines were very welcome to me, but I should have been gladder to have seen you here; for but on Friday last, the safety of these three kingdoms was, I think, much endangered for want of your single vote. The king, I hear, (being I fear misled by evil counsel,) denies to grant as yet the whole propositions, or any part of them.[m] High

[k] Member of parliament for Sudbury.

[l] Member of parliament for the county of Norfolk

[m] "The king refused to sign the propositions, though the commissioners of both kingdoms, on their knees, begged of him to do it." *Whitlocke, Aug.* 10, 1646. The propositions now offered by the parliament to the king, with his answers, are to be found in Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 309, &c. The king's answer was evasive; as usual, he demanded a personal treaty in London.

counsels must thereupon follow. I hope therefore that, all private affairs set aside, you will hasten up.

My wife, I bless God, is very well, and like to prove an exemplary nurse.

We both tender our due respects to yourself, your lady, and all yours.

I am your faithful nephew and servant,

SIMONDS DEWES.

Westminster,
Aug. 4, 1646.

MAJOR-GENERAL MYTTON TO THE COMMITTEE OF BOTH KINGDOMS.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I make bold to represent unto your honours the good service which hath been done by the late governor of the castle of Beaumaris and sir Robert Eyton; I having received former letters from your honours, to employ and reward such as should procure the surrender of that castle, as by another letter of the 15th of April last from your honours may appear.

According to which directions, I did entrust sir Robert Eyton, the bearer; who did so far engage the late governor, (being his cousin-german,) that he procured it under his hands unto me, to deliver the said castle[n] to me to the parliament's use; and to that

[n] The castle of Beaumaris was surrendered to major-general Mytton, June 25, 1646. See *Whitlocke*.

purpose I came into the island to receive the same: which I am very confident the late governor really intended, for that he removed his goods out of the castle, and was ready to deliver it the next day, it being surprised contrary to his intent; and while the castle was in their hands, was cordially willing to raise forces to help me to besiege it; but was afterwards regained, upon treaty and articles, and the same redelivered to the said late governor, who surrendered it to my commissioners, as I lately acquainted your honours.

Therefore I humbly desire your honours will be pleased to afford the favours, expressed in your honours' said letter of the 15th of April, unto the several persons therein expressed; and in particular unto sir Robert Eyton, who hath faithfully performed the trust reposed in him, and done other good service for the parliament when the siege was before Caernarvon;° and that your honours will be pleased to reward him in what proportionable means you shall think fitting, according to the power your honours gave me, he being the agent that did deal for me, before your letter to the committee of Salop, of the 15th April last. I have no more to add for the present, but that I am

Your most humble and faithful servant,

THO. MYTTON.

Chirke Castle,
Aug. 5, 1646.

° Caernarvon castle was surrendered to major-general Mytton, June 9, 1646. *Whitlocke.*

COLONEL BIRCH TO THE SPEAKER.

Truly Honourable,—According to his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax's order, I have drawn all the force I could possibly spare, (securing of Goodrich and Hereford,) with the guns, mortar pieces, and their equipage, to Ragland; where his excellency is at this time prescribing ways, and giving orders for the speedy reducing of this obstinate strong garrison, which I doubt not but will soon be effected.

In the mean time, I desire to know the pleasure of the house concerning the demolishing or keeping the castle of Goodrich, which I humbly conceive is useless, and a great burden to the country. However, I shall submit to what the house shall please to order, and expect it by major Blakemore, whom I have appointed to attend, and bring it down to me; that so I may draw the residue of my men to join with those before Ragland, and that work thereby may be speedied. Therefore I shall humbly desire your wonted favourable assistance in his speedy despatch, that the public service in these parts may be expedited, and a happy period put to our distractions; for which none more studies and prays, than

Your honour's most faithful servant,

John Birch.

Ragland, Aug. 7, 1646.

I humbly request you would be pleased to be mindful of my petition to the honourable house;

which, as I understand, now remains in your honour's custody.

SIR THOMAS GLEMHAM TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—Upon what terms I delivered Oxford to the honourable General, sir Thomas Fairfax, the whole house of commons knows; they having by vote approved both the articles, and the General's proceedings therein. Yet have I, contrary to these articles, been since detained three weeks in a close prison; for redress whereof, I have ever since been a suitor to the honourable house of commons, but not yet obtained their resolution.[p]

Believe me, sir, I neither want will nor means to satisfy my debts: yet since others, for whom I made the articles, are concerned in the performance of them, I thought myself no less fixed in honour to endeavour the observance of them, than I was to gain the concession of them; for the despatch of a suitor

[p] "Order to discharge sir Thomas Glemham from an arrest, according to the articles of Oxford." *Whitlocke, Aug.* 21, 1646.

It should be observed, however, that sir T. Glemham was not merely a state prisoner, he was also confined for debt: for when the above order was made for his discharge, the sheriffs of London petitioned the house, on the ground that they should be liable to pay the debt for which he was a prisoner; whereupon the house ordered that they and all others should be saved harmless. *Ibid. Aug.* 27.

is a part of justice, which might I speedily obtain by your favour, whatever the result be, I shall always rest

Your most humble servant,

THO. GLEMHAM.

Aug. 16, 1646.

COLONEL RICHARD TOWNSEND TO COLONEL THOMAS CEELY.

SIR,—I am just now going to meet the commissioners appointed to treat about the surrender of Pendennis :[q] the articles are agreed upon by both parties, and to be signed this morning; they are to march out to-morrow, or Tuesday at furthest; the soldier hath very honourable conditions—colours flying, trumpets sounding, drums beating, bag and baggage: and at the rendezvous, which is within two miles, to lay down their arms, their goods to be viewed; and if any man of the country can upon due proof make any of those goods appear to be his, then and there to receive it, and the soldier, in whose custody it is found, shall lose all that he hath. The sum of the

[q] "Letters informed the particulars of the surrender of Pendennis castle: that there was taken great store of arms and ammunition, ninety-five pieces of cannon, two murderers, [probably *mortars*,] but little provision." *Whitlocke, Aug.* 31, 1646.

Pendennis castle was defended by the governor, John Arundel, of Trerice: the interest taken in its defence appears from some former letters.

rest is according to the account I gave you the last week.

Sir, You have always expressed a great deal of care and love towards your regiment; now it hath pleased God to finish the western work, and to bring us into a condition, no soldier in this kingdom in the like. I have often writ you, that the most part have not wherewith to cover their nakedness, yet never received from you the least engagement to supply us, to incite those to it that should relieve us. I need not urge our service nor the faithfulness of it, well known to the most part, though not well considered by any.

I desire to receive directions how to dispose of the regiment, and positively what employment and future maintenance we may expect: the committee of this county hath expressed a great respect towards us, and some of them desire to continue us here till the great affairs of the kingdom are better settled. Be pleased to afford a line or two concerning the Irish proceedings.

I remain, Sir,

Your faithful servant,

August 16, at Truro. RICH. TOWNSEND.

LORD JERMYN TO SIR H. KILLIGREW.

MY DEAR COUSIN HARRY,—I have received yours, and truly do, with all the grief and respect that you can imagine to be in any body, look upon

your sufferings and bravery in them; and do further assure you, that the relief of so many excellent men, and preservation of so important a place,[r] is taken into all the considerations that the utmost possibility, that can be in the queen to contribute to either, can extend to. The same care is in the prince, from whose own hand you will particularly understand it.

I have now only time to tell you, that I am confident those little stores that will give us and you time to stay and provide for more, will be arrived with you; and I do not so encourage you vainly, but to let you know a truth that cannot fail, that if you, as I do no way doubt, have rightly represented the state of the place, and of the minds that are in it, you shall be enabled to give the account of it you wish beyond your expectations; and already some money is at the sea side for this purpose, and more shall daily be sent. I entreat most earnestly of you that the governor, sir John Digby, and those other gentlemen that did me the honour to write to me, may find here that I shall not fail to give them answer by the next. In the mean space, God of heaven keep you all, and give us, if he please, a meeting with you in England. I have no more to add.

I am, most truly,

Your most humble and most faithful servant,

Aug. 16, 1646. HE. JERMYN.

[r] This letter relates to Pendennis Castle. Sir H. Killigrew remained there to the last. See *Clarend.* vol. v. p. 425.

COLONEL MORGAN TO THE SPEAKER.

Truly Honourable,—May it please you, give me leave to give you a short account of our proceedings here. After a long and hard duty performed, it hath pleased God that commissioners on both sides have agreed upon articles for the surrender of the castle and garrison of Ragland,[1] which are now ready to be signed. You will be pleased to excuse me that I do not send you a particular of the conditions, because I hope his excellency's letter, with the particulars, will be come to your hand before this can come to you; only give me leave to acquaint you, that the enemy are to march out forty-eight hours after the signing of the articles, with their bag and baggage, and with their arms, to any place which their governor shall nominate, ten miles distant from the castle, and there lay down their arms and disband. And truly, had not this happy conclusion been made, our mortar-pieces would have played very suddenly, and we were come very near with our approaches.

[1] "Letters from the Leaguer before Ragland, certifying that the marquis of Worcester wrote with much respect to sir Tho. Fairfax; that he honoured his family, and was more willing to agree to his proposals, than if they came from any other. That he was intimately acquainted with sir Tho. Fairfax's grandfather, and other compliments; and concluded to agree to a treaty." *Whitlocke, Aug.* 17, 1646.

I have no more at present, but to subscribe myself

Your honour's most humble servant,

THO. MORGAN.

From the Leaguer, before Ragland Castle, Aug. 17, 1646; six at night.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—After the battle at Marston moor in the north, myself and some other of the commissioners of the parliament being at Leeds, it was desired by the commissioners of the kingdom of Scotland, that some means might be used for the obtaining cloth to the value of ten thousand pounds for the clothing of the soldiers of the Scottish service, who were then in great want; whereupon myself, sir William Constable, and Mr. Robert Goodwin, engaged ourselves unto certain inhabitants of the town of Leeds, that the parliament should in a short space of time repay the same; and accordingly money and clothes to a great value was delivered over to their use; which appears more particularly in a petition now depending in the honourable house of commons, which I am informed by the petitioners is not yet delivered, and they are yet unpaid that which was so long since promised.

I therefore do earnestly desire you to take the first seasonable opportunity to present the petition to the house, that some speedy course may be taken for the satisfaction of the said debt, out of the moneys raised at Goldsmith's hall, or what other ways the house in their wisdoms shall think most fit, that the engagement given by myself and other gentlemen may be taken off from us: the doing of which I shall acknowledge as a favour from you; and remain

Your humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Bath, Aug. 24, 1646.

DENZEL HOLLIS [TO THE SPEAKER.]

In obedience of the order of the house, I give you this account of what I have received by their gift, and the occasion of it.

First, the house granted me a thousand marks, which I had formerly paid into the exchequer for a fine imposed upon me in the king's bench, for my actions (which were, I hope, for the service of the public) in the parliament of 3d Car.,[1] for which I suffered close imprisonment in the tower three quarters

[1] In the following year, the parliament voted £5000 each to Hollis, Selden, Hambden's children, and others, "for the sufferings of them or their parents 3 Car., for opposing the illegalities of that time." *Whitlocke, Jan.* 18, 1646.

of a year; was from thence removed to the king's bench prison; prosecuted by the attorney-general, first in the star-chamber, then in the king's bench, where I was fined as aforesaid, adjudged to make an acknowledgment of my offence, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure: which to avoid, I made an escape, and lived a banished man from this city, from my friends, and from my business, (in which I suffered exceedingly,) for the space of seven or eight years, and then at last was glad to pay my fine. I can with confidence say, my imprisonment and my suits cost me three thousand pounds; and that I am ten thousand pounds the worse in my estate upon that occasion.

Then I took the allowance of four pounds a week for half a year; received the sum of one hundred and four pounds, when I was no longer able to buy bread for my family, having for three years lost my whole estate in the west, (where I should have had two thousand pounds a year coming in;) was plundered of some five hundred pounds stock, having lost besides three hundred pounds out of my wagon at Kenton[u] battle; sent three hundred pounds into Guildhall for the use of the parliament; spent a thousand pounds in the service of the parliament, before I laid down my commission of colonel, (for which likewise there is still owing me by the state, near upon three hundred

[u] The celebrated battle of Edge-Hill, or Keinton.

pounds, laid out of my purse for the use of my regiment, besides my other expenses.)

As soon as the west was reduced, that a way was open for me to get something out of my own estate, I relinquished the four pounds a week, and would receive no more of it.

This I set down, under my hand, the 27th August, 1646.

DENZEL HOLLIS.

FRANCIS GARDINER[x] TO [W. SANCROFT.]

SIR,—When I left my son to your care, I acquainted you with my desires, and received a promise from you that nothing should be wanting on your part which might render him perfect in the several arts and languages he had newly made entrance into.

I am not ignorant of the usual course of the university: most tutors I have known, if they read twice a day, and took account of that, held themselves sufficiently discharged of their trust; few did so much. If my judgment fail not, my son can soon digest

[x] The Indexes to Cole's MS. Collections in the British Museum have been searched for some account of the writer of this letter, but in vain. However, this and other letters by the same hand are worth preserving, not only as throwing light on the history and character of Sancroft, but as introducing to the reader an estimable person.

what shall be read to him in half an hour, either in logic or philosophy.

I hope therefore you have, beside the common task, appointed him some select Greek author to converse with, and that he hath your assistance to make some progress in the Hebrew Bible. For his geometry and arithmetic, his fancy tending that way, may happily cause him to spend some hours in those studies, (I would not have any trifled away.)

For a recreation, I could wish, if the place afford any, he had the help of a master in the French language, that the little he hath be not lost; and if the choice be good, his understanding may be thereby also informed. If set times be allotted for all, and kept constantly, all this will pass with delight.

I know I expect no impossibilities, though perhaps somewhat more than ordinary, as I confess (on your encouragement) I do from you. But withal I assure you, and you shall find it true, as I highly prize learning and learned men, so I shall not undervalue his pains who is a means of my son's proficiency, yourself being judge.

Above all, my desire is, that Sundays, fast days, and the like, may have their particular employment in divine studies, besides his constant reading the scriptures each morning and evening, which how he follows and understands, if you please sometime to question him, will be soon discerned.

You cannot but know by this time his abilities and

inclination, I beseech you, deal freely with me in both: my love may make me too apt to flatter myself. If I have looked on him in a false glass, be you a true mirror, and therein a mirror of tutors, to represent him truly.

The plate will be sent very shortly. I have not yet heard from my brother Bokenhart concerning his alliance to your founder, but himself enjoyed the privilege of the founder's chamber; my son is one step only further removed. If you have not already moved it, I pray do it at the next meeting of the fellows; for I desire he may enjoy his right.

You shall receive per this bearer four barrels of the best oysters our coast doth yet afford. In the like, or any thing my power extends to, I hope you may have good cause to command him who desires to be

Affectionately yours,

FRAN. GARDINER.

[August, 1646.]

Mr. Jeffrey commends his best wishes to you and Mr. Cradock, (to whom I have sent two barrels of oysters,) and we both thank you for your bounteous entertainment.

MR. HOLBECH TO MR. SANCROFT.

DEAR MR. SANCROFT,—The inclosed answers so much of your letter as you would impose a return

unto; but assure yourself I have a hearty affection to communicate, and a salute of love, both from myself and my second self, that shall not, nor may not, be hazarded to the delivery alone of another's tongue. And withal, too, I have thanks for this day's help and ease, which as much as is in me I would fain make legible.

It is true, the friend you designed came not, but indeed Mr. Aldus, who did come, performed the office very well, and free from all offence, as I could desire; which I the rather signify to satisfy you, and take you off from those doubts and scruples which I know your love, and tenderness of my pleasure, would be assaulted with. Many thanks, therefore, now unto you all three: for if I should have occasion, I shall make bold with Mr. Holden another time, whose readiness I do very sufficiently understand and thankfully accept; and I pray you let him know so much.

Good sir, Though I can scarcely see yet where I am, yet I readily perceive what is like to be my greatest infelicity in my remove hither, namely, the want of your good company; but I trust, as opportunity serves, I shall enjoy it for bodily presence, and I will not want it in contemplation, nor shall not, I believe, in devotion; for notwithstanding our furthest distance, I will meet you every day at heaven in my prayers; and I speak unfeignedly. I shall do without a great part of my soul in prayer, (and that is the

way to miss both of the gift and grace too of that exercise,) if you be not in it.

I now rest, Sir,

Yours, cordially and most affectionately,

THO. HOLBECH.

Trumpington,
Sept. 30, 1646.

R. AUGIER, PARLIAMENTARY AGENT AT PARIS, TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—Since the receipt of your letter of the 13th August, by order of the house of commons, backed by your despatch to the earl of Brienne, and by the examinations of captain Phineas Pett and others, concerning the passages of Monsieur de Montrevil and his portmantle, with the three letters disavowed by him, I acquainted weekly (during my abode of three weeks at Fontainebleau) Mr. Giles Green with all my conferences upon that subject with the said earl; not having thought fit to trouble you, nor the said house, until I should see the end of that same affair.

I do at this present make bold to tell you, that as I was preparing myself to go to the said Fontainebleau, for to execute what I was commanded by the said despatch, I received a letter from the said earl, whereby he gave me to understand, that having been

commanded to advise me to come to this court, he by an express entreated me to come speedily, for the affairs concerning the interest of those whom I do serve, referring to give me more light therein by word of mouth, with this superscription :

"A Monsieur.

"Monsieur Augier, agent des affaires de messieurs du parliment d'Angleterre. A Paris."

As soon as I came to the said Fontainebleau, which was on the 3rd instant, 24th August, he entertained me with the care this state, and the cardinal Mazarine in particular, had to keep this great neutrality with the state of England during its civil divisions, and to endeavour by all means to procure its rest.

That even of late they had sent, for that end, Monsieur Bellievre to London, to the parliament, to induce them, if possible, to accept this king's mediation, whereunto the parliament would not hearken ; and that this their desire having been frustrate, (every one being free, said he, in the managing of his own affairs,) the said Monsieur de Bellievre was gone to Newcastle to the king of Great Britain, to try what he could negotiate with him therein.[y]

[y] Clarendon reflects very severely on the conduct of Bellievre towards Charles: he represents him as having been instructed to denounce war against the parliament, if they refused to yield what was reasonable; and then adds, that he spent his time "in all the low application to the parliament that can be imagined." *Clarendon*, vol. v. p. 409, &c. But it is evident that he was

That at the same time, the said parliament sent very hard propositions to his majesty; who being not desirous to subscribe thereunto, desiring rather to come to London, or to some of his houses hard by, to propound more easily his reasons, the said parliament would by no means hearken thereunto; which was thought very strange.

But that the thing which forced him to put me to that pain to come to him by his aforesaid letter, was, to complain hugely from the king his master, of the violation of the law of nations in Monsieur de Montrevil's person; who, upon his way from Newcastle into France, with very good passes, which he shewed, was nevertheless arrested by a captain of the parliament's ships, his portmantle seized on, and, which is worst, his letters opened by the said parliament: which injury his majesty was very sensible of, and resolved to have satisfaction for it.

I asked him, whether he had said all? And after some replies to his speech, representing it was not his letter that made me come, but the express order I had from the parliament, to represent unto him at

sent to mediate, not to threaten; neither party however would yield, and so his mediation was ineffectual. Indeed, Clarendon himself adds, that Bellievre complained "that the king was too reserved in giving the parliament satisfaction; and therefore wished that somebody might be sent over, who was like to have so much credit with his majesty as to persuade him to what was necessary for his service." *Ibid.* p. 411.

large, and to the rest of these ministers, the truth of that affair.

I shewed him clearly all the fault was in Monsr. de Montrevil, who carried himself very ill at the first, in the middle, and at the end of that proceeding; and worse still, because he believed to cover his fault here by accusing the house of commons, for whose more particular justification I delivered him a copy of the letter the said Montrevil had written to the said house, and the aforesaid examination upon oath, which do manifestly oppose the said letter.

I presented him then your letter unto him, which he prayed me to keep until he should have leave to take it. I told him I found very strange he should refuse to accept it at first, since this king hath sent directly the said M. de Bellievre to the said parliament. He prayed me to come to him thereupon the next morning: which having done, he told me at first he had been chidden in a manner by the said cardinal, for having been too much persuaded by my reasons in that affair; that he had not as yet spoken to the queen regent concerning your letter, but bade me have a little patience, and he would accept it and answer it.

The two next days he gave me the same answer; and having told him, that that coldness would be extremely ill taken, that they would oblige the parliament to do the like, and that I would send back your letter; he told me he used not to receive any from strangers without leave; and prayed me not to send it back;

assuring me he would accept it, and return an answer jointly with me, and by my advice.

Meanwhile the said Montrevil was at St. Germains, and the said earl told me he was expected daily at Fontainebleau; whereby I did infer they would hear him upon what I said, afore the acceptance of the said letter and the answer thereunto, and examine together what M. de Grignon, brother to the said M. de Bellievre, had written, who (said the said earl) did much complain from London of the said parliament's hard proceedings therein.

Some days after, the said Montrevil being come to Fontainebleau, (and at the same time Mr. Jermyn,) I had by chance a hot dispute with the same Montrevil upon that matter. For his justification he said, that at first he believed captain Pett's ship to be a Dunkirk, which obliged him to leave his three letters with his man, who never did hide them, (saith he,) but were taken from him by force, by the said captain's men. That the parliament had no reason to mistrust his proceedings, whose servant he is; and that he had much ado to appease the said cardinal for that violating the law of nations in his person; yet insisting the parliament ought to give some satisfaction here upon that particular. I told him only, the parliament was more to be believed than he, whose reasons and examinations I had delivered to the earl de Brienne; and that he was extremely deceived to imagine the parliament (to whom he gave a just cause

of jealousy) would give any satisfaction. He parted from me not much content, and went from Fontainebleau the $\frac{20th}{10th}$ instant, with his despatch for Newcastle; which he said to a friend of mine he would carry through London.

Afore he parted, I went again to the earl of Brienne, to know his resolution concerning your letter and the answer thereunto. The said earl did put me off to the next day, which was Friday last was sen'night, at eight of the clock, two hours afore the post's going for England, saying we should then make the answer jointly, and that he would take care to have my despatch go with his own.

I was with him at the appointed time: and seeing he did put me off again to the afternoon, only to make me lose the occasion to write by that post, (by whom I knew he would not write, having written already by the said Montrevil,) I told him I would send your letter back to the parliament, for otherwise I would be blamed to have so long bore that delay, which could not be construed but a contempt or want of credit they give here to the examinations I delivered them from the parliament. He answered, the house of commons could have sent me the said three letters without opening the same, to know whether they were approved here or no; and that the said examinations did give so much the less satisfaction, that Monsieur de Montrevil, their minister, was to be more credited than mariners. I replied, it was not

necessary to send me the said letters; since being disavowed, they could not be accounted to belong to this state, and that the parliament of England gives more credit to their mariners' oath than to the said Montrevil's discourse.

I was then so pressed by the shortness of the time, that all I could do was to give advice thereof in a word to the said Mr. Giles Green; and to tell him, that since the little satisfaction I had, I was resolved not to present nor mention any more the said letter to the said earl or others, but upon new orders from the said parliament.

In that resolution I left Fontainebleau: which having been reported to the said cardinal, and that I was gone from hence discontented, M. du Bosc, his confident for the English affairs, wrote to me these words following, the $\frac{20th}{10th}$ after:—"It is by order from M. le compte de Brienne, that I do write you this present. As I went yesterday to speak to him about other things, he asked me, at first, where you were? saying, you were not to be seen. That indeed he had a little deferred to receive Mr. Speaker's letter, but that he told you still he would receive it, and that, *de facto*, he is ready to receive it at your hands, and to return an answer thereunto; commanding me to write unto you the same, and to send you compliments from him," &c.

I did not answer that letter. And being again to

the said Fontainebleau only on Tuesday night, and having seen yesterday morning the said earl, I gave him to understand I was come again, by the parliament's order, to complain of the grievances in the commerce, whereof I gave him a memorial, not mentioning your said letter unto him, nor he to me. The said du Bosc being come to visit me that night, was much displeased, that in consequence of his letter I had not delivered yours to the said earl: I replied, I had not done it, nor would do it, unless the said earl should require it first, and would assure me himself that he would return such answer thereunto that would please the parliament, and excuse that long delay. That I had occasion to see him again this day, for the affairs of the commerce; and that if he would carry himself accordingly, I would deliver it to him, and not else. The said du Bosc being gone thereupon to the said earl, about the hour I was to be there this morning, he did put him in remembrance of what he had written to me by his order; and the said earl, excusing that delay by the abundance of affairs, and because he could not have before leave to receive it, he prayed me to deliver it to him, and promised me to return an answer thereunto, full of friendship and pleasing to the said parliament.

I did then deliver him your letter: but I doubt he cannot answer it before the next post, by reason of the shortness of the time, and of this court's sudden

going from hence to Paris. This is the story of what is happened upon this particular.

As for the public, the event of the siege of Dunkirk is here expected daily, where the duke d'Enghien hoped to make his entry this day, if the storm happened since his despatch, and other accidents, do not retard the execution thereof. Don Thadeo, brother to the Barberins, came hither on Monday last, with his wife, his three sons, and one daughter: they had yesterday audience from their majesties, of Madamoiselle, and the rest of this court.

The same day, an express came from Rome, who gives advice that the affair of the Barberins is wholly reconciled with the pope.

The cardinal Mazarine hath shewed much joy for it; pretending that the sole arriving of the marshal de la Milleraye hath made the pope stoop to that accommodation, whereby the said Barberins are restored to their offices and lands. We have as yet no news from the said marshal since his embarkment at Toulon, the $\frac{18th}{8th}$ of September last, nor of the siege of Lerida.

The Swedish extraordinary ambassador took yesterday leave of all this court, and goes to-day to Paris, where he will stay some eight or ten days before he goes to Swedeland.

This court is much satisfied with him and his proceedings. He hath spoken and delivered very urgent memorials for the redressing of the palatine house

into their lands and dignities; declaring that the Swedish crown will never give consent to any peace, without the said redressing of the said house, of that of Hesse, and of the marquis of Baden. They have given him some general answers thereupon. Yet cardinal Mazarine did declare unto him, with very great oaths, that notwithstanding all reports and offers the emperor can do to accept the pretensions of France, yet they will never agree with the house of Austria, but with the knowledge and consent of the Swedish crown: but that in making of war, they ought to keep some inclination to the peace; representing thereupon, that Francis is only sure of the Hollanders for six months; that the affairs of this state are subject to the vicissitudes; that the peace in England was near to be concluded; in which case the English may join with the Spaniards, and cause much stirring, and that consequently they cannot use too much precaution.

Whereas the duke of Orleans visited the prince of Wales abed at St. Germains; so, when the said prince came to visit him at Paris, at the hotel of Luxemburg, the said duke kept his bed, excusing himself upon his gout.

The prince of Condé is still at Cluny, in Burgundy, and his wife in this court; where I rest ever,

Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

R. Augier.

The said Montrevil made a shew as if he had burnt at London the three letters the house of commons did open; and yet the earl of Brienne told me he received by him that which was in cipher, which (saith he) was the said Monsr. de Bellievre's despatch unto him.

The aforesaid ambassador of Swedeland hath delivered here the ratification of the peace made between that crown and that of Denmark, by the interposition of M. de la Tuillerie. This king's ambassador, who is returned to this court, hath confirmed the treaties between France and Swedeland, and obtained a general order, directed to marshal de Turenne, to act jointly with the Swedish army, besiege places, to pitch battles, &c. against the duke of Bavaria, of whose adversity thereby they seem here not to care much, though he hath referred here all his interests in the pope's nuncio's hands.

It is to be noted, that by an article of the said treaty, France and Swedeland have mutually the liberty to make their peace apart, when they will, if it be for the advantage of their affairs.

Fontainebleau, $\frac{\text{Octob. 4,}}{\text{Sept. 24,}}$ 1646.

SIR WALTER STRICKLAND* TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—I am informed from so good hands, that the general peace at Munster is in such a forwardness,

* Ambassador at the Hague from the parliament.

and so likely to be shortly concluded, as I conceive it to be necessary the house should know it; such a change as that will make, cannot but have considerable effects upon our own interests.

How near Spain and the States have been a long time to make peace, is evident by the articles reciprocally signed by ambassadors on both sides. The news was last week, that the emperor and France were fully agreed, which is believed here: and now this week I am certified, that France and Spain and the Swedes and the emperor are also upon near terms of concluding a peace; and though I dare not offer it as a thing certain, yet the wisest men here, and those who are most concerned in it, believe it most; and all the best informations from thence run all, that all difficulties are mastered, and that a month may effect it.

I hope the wisdom of the parliament will so provide for our own interests, as none of those alterations it may make shall disadvantage the cause for which it hath suffered so much. The States' army is yet in the field: some say it may yet undertake some actions, though it seem very late.

Sir, No man wisheth better to the public, nor is more a servant to your person, than

Your most humble servant,

WALTER STRICKLAND.

Hague, $\frac{\text{Octob. 4,}}{\text{Sept. 24,}}$ 1646.

SIR WALTER STRICKLAND TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—I thought it my duty to acquaint you, and by you the house, with a particular favour and respect the provincial states of Holland have done me, considering the honour I have to serve the parliament here as the parliament's minister; which is, to give me an order to be exempt from all impositions and excises: a respect much more valuable in regard of the affection to the parliament, than the advantage to me; and so I consider it: the king's resident hath ever enjoyed the same. I was told, no one vote was against it; which yet improves in me the sense of it, and makes me glad to see the good inclination of the states of Holland to the parliament. I am confident the parliament will cherish these respects, by expressing the same inclinations for those they employ in England; which is the hearty desire of him who hath made it all his work to maintain a good understanding betwixt the parliament and the States.

The general peace is in a great forwardness, and the States' ambassadors at Munster have had the honour to mediate the differences betwixt France and Spain, and have overcome the greatest. Some think the taking of Dunkirk may occasion new considerations, both to make the French make higher demands, and the Spaniards less affect it; the saving

Dunkirk having been one of the greatest motives to induce them to hasten the conclusion of it, which by the loss of it ceaseth; for it is thought here this day, it is to be surrendered to the French.

Sir John Knightley, an English papist, hath desired to have a commission the king hath given him to be allowed, by which he is made collector of all the tenths and fifteenths of all the prizes brought into the Low Countries: a strange demand in a neutral state, who will not judge any prizes on either side; so as he demands, as I told him, the tenth and fifteenth part of nothing, so as this commission will do us no great hurt.

The prince's army is yet in the field: some think it may come towards Ruremonde and Venlawe, two places in the Spaniards' possession in Guelderland, which are thought not to be very strong, and which may be easily taken.

The States are yet most employed about the business at Munster, about the peace. Zealand hath considerations of its own in respect of trade, not to desire so much a peace with Spain. When the last truce was made, much was done before Zealand could be persuaded to embrace it; and now at this time that province is more than any unwilling to embrace it, so as the other provinces are thinking to send deputies to dispose them to it.

Sir, I wish any service I could do you might per-

suade you of a truth, which is, that you can command no man more absolutely than,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

WALTER STRICKLAND.

Hague,
Octob. $\frac{11}{1}$, 1646.

THE BISHOPS OF LONDON AND SALISBURY TO THE KING.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,—In obedience to your majesty's commands, we have advised upon that proposition, and your majesty's doubt arising thereon; and, according to our duty, and your majesty's strict charge laid upon us, we shall deliver our opinions, and the sense we have of it, plainly and freely, to the best of our understandings; nor shall we fail in point of fidelity, however we may in judgment.

The doubt is touching the lawfulness of a temporary compliance in matters of religion, in the state they now here stand; that is, (as we apprehend it,) whether your majesty may, without breach of your oath, and with a safe conscience, permit for some time the exercise of the directory, for worship and practice of discipline, as they are now used, and stand enjoined by ordinance.

For resolution whereof, we shall take the boldness

to make use of those grounds which we find laid to our hands in your majesty's directions. For your majesty's constancy, and fixedness of resolution not to recede from what you have by oath undertaken in that matter, as it gives us a great latitude to walk in, with safety of conscience, in your endeavours to that end, (the rectitude of intention abating much of the obliquity in all actions,) so the full expression you have been now pleased to make of it, and that what your purpose at present is in order thereunto, doth much facilitate the work, and fit us for a resolution.

Taking therefore your majesty's settled determination touching the church for a foundation immoveable, and this proposition (in your majesty's design) as a means subservient thereunto; considering also the condition your majesty's affairs now stand in, being destitute of all means compulsory, or of regaining what is lost by force; we cannot conceive in this your majesty's condescension any violation of that oath, whereof your majesty is so justly tender, but that your majesty doth thereby still continue to preserve and protect the church by the best ways and means you have left you, (which is all the oath can be supposed to require;) and that the permission intended, (whereby, in some men's apprehension, your majesty may seem to throw down what you desire to build up,) is not only by your majesty allowed to that end, but, as your majesty stands persuaded, probably fitted for the effecting it in some measure.

And as your majesty will stand clear (in our judgments, at least) in respect of your oath, which is principally to be regarded, so neither do we think your majesty will herein trespass in point of conscience; because your majesty, finding them already settled, and (as it were) in possession, do only (what in other cases is usual) not disturb that possession while the differences are in bearing; or (which is more justifiable) permit that which you cannot hinder if you would: not commanding it, (for that may vary the case,) but, which possibly may be better liked, leaving it upon that footing it now stands, enjoined by authority of the houses, which is found strong enough to enforce obedience: which intendment of your majesty would stand more clear, if this point of a temporary toleration were not laid as the principal of the proposition, (as now it may seem to be standing in the front,) but as an accessory and necessary concession for the more peaceable proceeding in the business.

The first part therefore in the proposition might be for the accommodation of differences by a debate between parties, (as it lies in the proposition;) and then that during the debate all things remain *statu quo nunc*, without any interruption or disturbance from your majesty, provided that the debate determine, and a settlement be made within such a time, &c.; and that your majesty and your household in the interim be not hindered, &c.; which notwithstanding

we humbly submit to your majesty's better judgment to alter or not.

We cannot but have a lively sense of the great troubles your majesty undergoes; and doubt not but that God, who hath hitherto given you patience in them, will bless you with a deliverance out of them in due time, and make the event of your constant endeavours answerable to the integrity of your majesty's heart; which is the prayer of

Your majesty's most obedient humble servants,

GUIL. LONDON.[a]
BR. SARUM.[b]

Fulham,
Oct. 4, 1646.

FR. GARDINER TO [MR. SANCROFT.]

SIR,—I have read more than once yours of Nov. 10, wherein you have given me so full a relation of my son's endeavours to improve his time, and to answer my care and your pains, that I shall henceforth banish all jealous thoughts of his miscarriage. The method you have proposed and the authors appointed, I cannot but approve; and I have it under his hand, that my son will fulfil his task.

The winter I account a time most proper for studies, and therefore have not any thoughts to divert him. When the spring makes travel pleasant, I shall, if God will, either visit Cambridge, or send for him to me:

[a] William Juxon. [b] Brian Duppa.

if to Tollsbury, I shall be very glad to make choice of such a time that you may accompany him.

According to your order, I have appointed £10 to be paid to Mr. Daniels, and his acquittance shall be taken and himself entreated to write to Mr. Nicholson of the receipt; for if his other discharge should be sent, it might happily, or rather unhappily, miscarry. On all occasions of supply, if you please to give me timely notice, I shall make answerable returns; for I would not that my son should want for aught becoming him.

I love not too profuse expense, nor approve a parsimonious hand where a liberal is required: what God hath given, is given to make use of; and no employment like what is expended to better the inner man. I hope my son is of the same mind, and hath discretion to judge where and when to spend or spare. This enlargement the murmurs you mention have begotten.

At your pleasure, let my son convey your bill; except you shall think good, which I much rather wish, to accompany it with a few lines, than whose none more welcome. Thus have I hastily scribbled an answer: pardon the failings of a bad scribe, and rest assured that I am, and shall embrace any occasion to witness myself,

Your most affectionate friend,

FRAN. GARDINER.

Nov. 23, 1646.

MAJOR-GENERAL POYNTZ TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—My last letter informed you of the great insolency and mutiny within the walls of York; now give me leave to inform you of what intelligence I have out of the north, and what plots are a working against this kingdom. The copies of what is come to my hands is here inclosed; there is also a brief relation from captain Byard, under the regiment of colonel Copley, concerning the betraying of Pontefract castle:[c] the chief actor thereof should be lieutenant-colonel Morris; the names of the others which have a hand in this plot, I send also here inclosed.

Upon the receipt of this information, I commanded several parties to apprehend all those which I am informed hath a hand in the betraying of Pontefract castle, to examine them; and what the effect hereof will be, you shall hear by the next post. I also have sent orders to all the castles in this county to have a care of themselves: to Pontefract I have sent a troop of horse, to join with the troop belonging to that garrison; and an order to the commander of the castle to double his guard: to Skipton I have sent twelve hundred foot and eighty horse, which had their quarters formerly thereabouts: I have also, upon the

[c] "Letters from major-general Poyntz, informed of a design to surprise Pomfret for the king, but discovered and prevented.' *Whitlocke, Nov.* 30, 1646.

desires of my horse officers, drawn them a little closer than they lay formerly; not with any intent to give the least distaste to any of our brothers, but for to secure my forces from disaffected cavaliers and papists, that otherwise might in one night have destroyed most of our horse.

Sir, What the issue of this alarm will be, a little time will produce: there shall be no want of my care and duty in doing that as shall become an honest man, and a faithful servant to the state. Having no more, I rest,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

SEDENHAM POYNTZ.

York,
Nov. 27, 1646.

MAJOR-GENERAL POYNTZ TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—My straits do so grow upon me, that I am much to seek which way to turn me. Upon the last meeting, I heard of promises of some moneys, but see none yet; the soldier, while he is continued, must necessarily eat, as you very well know.

I have had of late such strong advertisements of designs upon the garrison of York, the particulars whereof I cannot think fit to communicate in writing, that I am enforced to draw two thousand foot into and

near the town, and to keep a constant guard of one troop of horse every night there.[d]

I am afraid to tell you how weak we are in ammunition; insomuch that having, with some other gentlemen, sent to the town of Hull for some arrears of assessment there, to be laid out in ammunition; and denied, under a pretence that now the ordinance is out, and we can give them no discharge; I am enforced, with some others, to give personal engagement to some merchants in Hull, for some supply that way.

Sir, I have no other refuge but to apply myself to the honourable house; and to beseech you, so long as the soldiers shall be thought fit to be continued, there may be some speedy means for their subsistence; without which, I fear they will be shortly brought into a narrow room at the best, many of them being fled into the north since the last mutiny: and I shall be utterly disabled to render that account to your honourable houses of the trust they are pleased to repose in me, which would be the greatest matter of grief that could befall,

Sir,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

SEDENHAM POYNTZ.

York, Dec. 5, 1646.

[d] "Upon suspicion of a plot to surprise York, major-general Poyntz drew in his forces into the city." *Whitlocke, Dec.* 8, 1646.

MAJOR-GENERAL MYTTON TO THE SPEAKER.

Honourable Sir,—Upon the rendering of Caernarvon, I took the boldness to acquaint the honourable house with the great service the gentlemen of that county had done the parliament, which I humbly desire you will be pleased to give me leave to reiterate, being informed that there is an intent at this time by some to bring them into the same condition themselves be in, who have stood out against the power of parliament to the last. I shall be very brief.

1. I was invited by them, before I was well able to undertake so great a design, to besiege the lord Byron in Caernarvon; and upon confidence of their integrity and assistance, I adventured upon it with a very small force; and finding their performance in both, by God's blessing, in a short time it was gained.

2. They have been very active ever since, by employing the forces they then raised me against Conway; and one company of them are now before the castle of Harleigh: by all which it may appear how well they were affected before I was able to defend them, (and then shewed it,) as also how constant they have been ever since.

Therefore, as I became an humble suitor unto the honourable house in their behalf at that time, by interceding for them, to have their delinquencies pardoned; having had so long a trial of them since, (and being confident that if the worst of times should

come again,) they are so well grounded in a good opinion of the proceedings of the parliament, that I dare adventure against any of your enemies with them in your service, as soon as with any in the kingdom. I can do no less than second my mediation in their behalf, humbly submitting unto the pleasure of the honourable house. And lest I should be mistaken, that I should inform the honourable house that all in the county were well affected and assisted me, divers being in arms against the parliament in Conway, I humbly refer myself unto the petition of that county, to express the reality for whom I promised to intercede. And so craving pardon for my boldness, I cease; remaining

Your honour's faithful and most humble servant,

THO. MYTTON.

Harleigh,
Dec. 19, 1646.

EARL OF LEVEN TO [THE COMMISSIONERS AT NORTHALLERTON.]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS,—I received your letter by the express, (but none by the last post,) wherein your lordships seriously recommended to me such things as do very highly concern the peace and safety of the kingdoms, which I shall ever regard with so much fidelity and zeal, as nothing in my power shall be wanting, with all care and exact dili-

gence, to prevent new disturbances and further evils that might ensue, if there were any miscarriage at this time.

The bearer has also brought me a letter from the parliament, desiring me to take especial care of his majesty's person; that he remain in, and go not from this army unto Scotland during our abode here; and that my former orders and proclamations be put to execution, for debarring from access to his majesty's person, and coming to Newcastle, all such English and Scottish malignants as served against the parliament, and have no permission to be here, which I shall likewise faithfully perform. And what further may be propounded to me for the good of this cause, the advancement of the service, and discouragement of disaffected persons, flattering themselves in the hopes of our division, shall be followed and observed with that same constancy of affection wherewith I have always endeavoured to prove myself faithful to the public, and to your lordships

A most humble servant,

LEVEN.

Newcastle,
Dec. 28, 1646.

I know not what answer to return to these inclosed papers from Ireland, now presently come to my hands, without your lordships' special advice and directions, which I expect by the very first occasion.

EARL OF LEVEN TO THE COMMISSIONERS AT NORTHALLERTON.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—Yours of the 21st did come to my hands this afternoon. I have given strict orders to all those under my command, that they shall take no money by advance after their removal from their quarters, the copy whereof was sent to you. The complaints mentioned to be inclosed in your letter did not come to my hands, and when any shall come worthy of censure, it shall be examined, and the persons punished according to their fault.

I have already given orders to the governors of Stockton and Hartlepool, to quit those garrisons on Monday or Tuesday next, the 25th of January instant; so that these governors will be either ready to deliver the garrisons, or you will find them empty of our soldiers.* I gave order to the lieutenant-general of horse to march to this side of Tees, conform to the treaty: this garrison of Newcastle and

* On the 8th of December, an agreement had been made between the parliament and the Scotch, that the former should pay the latter £400,000; half before the Scottish army had passed the border, the remainder to be secured by the public faith. On the part of the Scotch it was agreed that their army should withdraw into their own country, and that the king should be left with the commissioners sent by the parliament to receive him. On the 13th of January, the Scotch forces evacuated Newcastle, leaving the king in the hands of the English. See *Godwin*, b. ii. c. 6.

the garrison of Tynemouth castle will remove on Saturday next, the penult of this month, and all the forces under my command will be on the north side of Tyne that day.

And howbeit there be six days allowed after the rendering the garrisons, for delivery of the last £200,000, yet the committee here and I conceive it will be a great burden to the county of Northumberland, that our whole army should be in these parts until the six days be past, and therefore we are content you make all the haste you can to deliver the last £100,000; and, if you please, we shall receive it upon the first, second, and third day of February, at the place appointed.

This is all I can say for the present; and remain

Your lordships' humble servant,

LEVEN.

Newcastle,
Jan. 23, 1646 [7.]

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I received your lordships' letter, desiring our quarters to be removed, that you may march with your forces near Newcastle on Friday, wherein I shall be most ready and willing to give your lordships all that satisfaction which can be expected of one who wisheth an happy and speedy close

of business; having accordingly given orders to the forces on south side Tyne so to order and hasten their march, that these parts being cleared of them, your forces may repair to Durham and Gateside against the time desired.

And that the garrisons of Newcastle and Tynemouth castle may be delivered against the time limited by the articles of agreement, there shall be no loss of time on our part; but all care and diligence used to prevent the time (if it could be possible) in the rendition of your garrisons, and marching of our forces, which shall be all, both horse and foot, on this side Tyne, upon Friday next the 29th instant.

And whereas your lordships renew your desires, that the army may pay whatsoever they take in the county; as I did by former orders strictly prohibit the levying any cesses after the removal of the army from the several quarters, and the demanding of moneys by way of advance, so shall especial care be had, that nothing be taken, but necessary entertainment for subsistence upon the march, until the moneys be distributed, and no cause of offence be given, but a fair and friendly parting, to the maintaining and strengthening of the happy union between the kingdoms; which is the constant desire of

Your humble servant,

LEVEN.

Newcastle,
Jan. 26, 1646 [7.]

FROM ——— TO COLONEL HARLEY.

SIR, — This day I understand that your lieutenant-colonel drew your regiment to a rendezvous, and the petition was read at the head of them, and signed by above eleven hundred of them; and I understand that he sayeth, that all those officers and soldiers that refuse shall be cashiered the army.[f] The other regiments are coming all up, except the major-general's. I confess I do much doubt the event, except the parliament take some high resolutions. They do intend to enslave the kingdom, for all that I can hear by them; if the parliament would please to pro-

[f] At this period, the strength of the parliamentary army consisted of Independents, whereas the Presbyterians had the majority in parliament. An attempt was made therefore by the parliament to disband the army, except so much of it as was required for the service in Ireland, and as was sufficient to occupy the different garrisons that were to be maintained in England. Commissioners, accordingly, were sent down to the head-quarters at Saffron Walden, to effect this object; but the officers, with whom they conferred, required to be satisfied in four particulars: 1. Under whose command in chief they were to go; 2. What particular regiments, troops, or companies were to be continued in England; 3. What assurance for pay and subsistence for those that go to Ireland; 4. Satisfaction in point of arrears, and indemnity for past services. At the same time, a petition was presented to these officers from the army, to be by them presented to the General, and by him, if he thought fit, to the parliament, upon the several heads appended to the next letter. See *Godwin*, b. ii. c. 7; and *Whitlocke, March* 22, 1646.

vide money, and send for major-general Skippon, yet I am confident they might do what they please with the army: without that course, I fear they will prove troublesome.

My humble service to sir Robert, and my especial friend major Robert Harley. Sir, I hope I need not tell you that I am your most

Humble servant.

Walden,
March 27, 1647.

J. C. TO COLONEL ROSSITER.[s]

Sir,—The petition is now come to the regiment, directed from lieutenant Griff. Loyd to lieutenant Byfield and lieutenant Scot. I have sent this messenger on purpose to know your further pleasure: for my part, I and the rest of my officers are resolved not to act without you, and therefore we desire speedily to hear from you by this messenger; and that we do not approve of the clause of craving the

[s] This and the preceding are alluded to in Whitlocke, March 29: "Letters to colonel Harley and colonel Rossiter, members of the house, from some of their soldiers, informed that the petition of the army was carried on, and was subscribed by many, and those who refused it threatened to be cashiered; and that the subscriptions were to be sent to lieutenant-general Hammond, colonel Hammond, colonel Ireton, colonel Rich." It should be observed, that the army had some weeks before set on foot the petition, but had been persuaded to drop it. See *Whitlocke, March* 19.

royal assent. The hands of the regiment, as well officers as soldiers, are desired, and this desired from the army, and the names to be sent to colonel Hammond, lieutenant-general Hammond, commissary-general Ireton, colonel Lilburne, or lieutenant-colonel Grimes, or any three of them.

Yours faithfully,

J. C.

March 28, [1647.]

The heads of a petition endeavoured to be obtruded as the sense of the army.

1st. That there be an act of indemnity passed by the houses for any acts done by them in the prosecution of this war, and that the royal assent be procured thereunto.

2nd. That none that have voluntarily served in this war may be impressed.

3rd. That no horseman be forced to serve as foot soldier.

4th. That till they be disbanded, they may receive constant pay, that they may not be beholden to their enemies, and burdens to their friends.

5th. That the arrears be satisfied before they be disbanded, and that a committee be sent from the parliament to audit their accompts both in this and other armies.

THE SPEAKER TO SIR T. FAIRFAX.

Sir,—I am commanded to acquaint you, that this day the house has received information in a letter to this purpose: (viz.) that lieutenant-colonel Pride,

lieutenant-colonel and colonel Harley, drew his regiment to a rendezvous, and that the petition was read at the head of them, signed by above eleven hundred of them; and that he sayeth, that all those officers and soldiers that refuse shall be cashiered the army; that the other regiments are coming all up, except the major-general's. I am further to acquaint you, that you are by the house desired to give order, that lieutenant-colonel Pride, colonel Hammond, lieutenant-general Hammond, colonel Lilburne, and lieutenant-colonel Grimes, do attend the house.

Not having more commands,[h]

I remain, Sir,

Yours, &c.

[March 29, 1647.]

P.S.—Sir, I am further commanded to send unto you this inclosed copy of a letter, directed to colonel Rossiter from his regiment, and the paper inclosed.

SIR THO. FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

Mr. Speaker,—I received your letter, dated the 27th of this instant, with an order inclosed therein

[h] "Hammond, Pride, and other officers sent up by the General, were called into the house, and Pride was charged to have read the petition at the head of a regiment, where was threats to those that should not subscribe it; which Pride denied: and they were all required to return to their charges, and to suppress the petition." *Whitlocke, April* 1, 1647.

from the house of commons, for the making stop of the further proceedings in a petition, which the house was informed was carrying on in the army. In obedience to which I sent out orders to the officers of the regiments quartering in these parts of the kingdom to meet at my quarters, that I might inquire into the whole matter, and take such course as might most effectually conduce unto the accomplishing of your commands: where, having communicated your letter and orders to them, they did generally express a very deep sense of their unhappiness in being misunderstood in their clear intentions, which were no other than by way of petition to represent unto me those inconveniencies which would necessarily befall most of the army after disbanding; desiring that as much as I should judge fit and seasonable might be submissively made known to the house of commons, which otherwise (your multiplicity of business intervening) might not be remembered; assuring me, that they would wholly acquiesce in whatsoever I should judge reasonable to offer, or you to grant, on their behalf.

I have also, according to your commands, sent up lieutenant-general Hammond, colonel Hammond, colonel Lilburne, lieutenant-colonel Pride, and lieutenant-colonel Grimes, to attend the house's pleasure; who I hope will give you (as far as they are acquainted therewith) a full and candid account of the whole proceedings in this petition.

Sir, There is one clause in your letter concerning all the regiments marching this way, which I do not understand, except it be meant by sir Hardresse Waller's regiment, which I have commanded away at the instance of major-general Skippon, upon the grounds in his inclosed letter; and colonel Hammond's and colonel Herbert's, now upon their march from Chester, being dismissed from that service.

Sir, I trust the army will ever manifest their affections to the public by their constant perseverance in their accustomed obedience unto all your commands; which shall be ever really endeavoured by

Your most humble servant,

T. Fairfax.

Walden,
March 30, 1647.

THE COMMISSIONERS WITH THE KING TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—This afternoon, as the king was riding from Holdenby to Boughton, to bowl, he alighted (as usually he hath done) at a narrow bridge in the way, at the end of which bridge there stood one Humphrey Boswell,[1] (who had formerly been a major in his majesty's army,) disguised in a countryman's habit, with an angle in his hands, as if he had been fishing; and

[1] "Order that major Bosvil be sent up as a delinquent." *Whitlocke, April* 8.

privately conveyed into the king's hand letters from the queen and prince, as more particularly appears in the examination, which we send you here inclosed. We have committed him to the sheriff of the county, where he is to remain until your pleasure be known.

In discharge of our duty, we thought fit to do this, and to give you a speedy account thereof. Remaining,

Sir,

Your most humble servants,

J. HOLLAND.
JOHN COKE.
Jo. CREWE.
RICHARD BROWNE.

Holdenby,
April 6, 1647.

Holdenby, April 6, 1647.

The examination of Humphrey Bosvile, sometime of Ensford in Kent, and late major to colonel Colepepper's regiment in the lord Cleveland's brigade:

Who saith, that this present day he did deliver to his majesty (as he was going to bowls) a packet of letters which he lately brought out of France from the queen, with some inclosed from the prince, as the king was walking on a narrow bridge near a mill.

That he heard it discoursed before he came over, that the prince, having a desire to accompany the duke of Orleans in his wars, hath (from a sense of his honour) wrote to the king so to do; the queen regent of France being otherwise unwilling to give her consent.

That the lord Colepepper did assure him, the said major Bosvile, before he came out of France, that the letters he

brought tended much to peace; and which he is confident is true.

That he was at Newcastle the same day the king was delivered into the English commissioners' hands; and that he went thence into France, and carried with him a letter from the king to the queen; which letter he received from his majesty in the morning of the said day.

That it is about a fortnight since he, the said Bosvile, came into England; and that he hath lodged two nights in a furze bush, and three nights at a countryman's house near this place, waiting for an opportunity to deliver the said letters; that he borrowed the said countryman's clothes for his disguise, (but his name or dwelling he refuseth to tell,) in which he delivered the said letters, with an angle also in his hands, as if he were fishing.

That he was commanded to deliver the said letters to the king's own hands, which he undertook to do; and saith, if he could not have found an opportunity otherwise, he was resolved to deliver them to the king before the commissioners, although he had died for it, conceiving the letters conduced to peace, as is aforesaid.

This examination being read unto him, the said H. Bosvile, he acknowledgeth the same to be true, but refuseth to set his hand unto it.

J. Burroughes,
(in absence of the secretary,) by order of the commissioners.

MAJOR-GENERAL SKIPPON TO THE SPEAKER.

Right worthily honoured Sir,—I have been very much troubled since I had some intimation of,

and yet (hitherto) not to have received the order from the right honourable houses of parliament, requiring me to repair to the army,[k] and to depute one to command here in my absence; so that although I have expected it daily, and have been hourly ready for my journey, yet not knowing what may have obstructed the sending of it, nor what to do without it, I am in a great strait, not knowing how it might be taken if I should remove hence, and appoint a deputy without it. I most humbly pray to know the parliament's pleasure therein, and I shall (God assisting) readily obey it.

And now, honoured sir, if ever it shall seem good to this honourable house to vouchsafe me (unworthy) any more favours, (whose former favours are more than I can mention,) my most humble and earnest suit is, (yea, with as much unfeignedness as I can beg any thing at the hand of men,) that I may be excused from the service of Ireland; for the cordial furtherance of which (although any other way I can possible) I shall not be wanting; yet I am so sensible of my own exceeding indisposedness of mind, inability of body, distractedness of estate and family, that I ingenuously confess myself most unfit and unable to

[k] Major-general Skippon was, on the second of April, appointed to be commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, with the title of field-marshal: at the same time, colonel Massey was appointed to be his lieutenant-general of horse. *Whitlocke, April* 2, 1646.

undertake and undergo such an employment. I am, with all most humble thankfulness, willingly ready to lay down all I have and am in this world at the parliament's feet, yea, my very life and all, wherein my heart told me I were fit to serve the public, but in this it doth not: and therefore again I most submissively beseech this honourable house, to be entreated to spare me in this business; and I beseech your best furtherance herein; whereby I assure you, sir, you shall (more than I can express) oblige

Sir,

Your most humble-hearted faithful servant,

CH. SKIPPON.

Newcastle,
April 8, 1647.

DR. HOLDSWORTH [TO MR. SANCROFT.]

LOVING SIR,—It is now high time to salute you, and to ask how you do. There is nothing can come to me from Cambridge of more acceptance than the report of your welfare; it is the only recompense of the loss of my books. I would fain forget them, but I cannot; every book I look on revives the remembrance. I should have writ to Mr. Whichcott and Mr. Cudworth[1] about them, but I have sus-

[1] Whichcott and Cudworth, the two eminent divines, whose names it is pleasing to find associated with those of Holdsworth and Sancroft.

pected they were not in the University this fortnight. I heard they were both in town, but they came not at me. Mr. Cudworth hath gained well by his sermon; it comes up to the great prices which have been given for poetry. The honour of it is, that it came without solicitation; just as they take away, they give.

Of Mr. Williams's catalogue I have heard nothing, yet I hope I may see Cambridge once again this summer, and save him a caveat. In the interim, I leave T. Holdsworth to himself, seeing he is resolved: if his own means fail him, I will see him supplied till he be master of arts.

I have heard nothing of my lady Lawley's son, but another knight sent to me this week on the same occasion: I would not willingly have any pupils with you, but such as are good; howsoever, make sure to yourself what chambers you can. So I betake you to God's grace; and, with all well wishes, rest

Your endeared friend,

RI. HOLDSWORTH.

April 14, 1647.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

LOVING SIR,—Since my last, I received a renewed entreaty from that knight, whom then I named not: he desires to send his son three weeks after Easter: he is tall, and one to whom I am related. I doubt of

nothing but his chamber, of which I pray you send me word. I would be loath to be put to speak to Mr. Tuckney; but if there be no remedy, I must.

The books which are supernumerary, if you send me the names and the number, I will provide you as many, and as good, to be put in their rooms. So, in haste, I commend you to the comforts of this day's memorial;[m] and remain

Your affectionate friend,

Ri. Holdsworth.

April 16, 1647.

THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSIONERS WITH THE ARMY TO THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—We had hopes by this time to have been enabled to a more particular and satisfying account of our proceedings than we can yet render; finding that since our last some evil impressions have been made upon the soldiery, without whose concurrence the work in hand will remain imperfect.

The list inclosed may communicate to your lordships, &c. what officers are engaged in the service: at our first treaty with whom, grounds of belief were held forth to us, of an almost general inclination in

[m] Good-Friday.

the soldiers also, of their respective troops and companies, for some of whose march to the several quarters, by us assigned, we have issued instructions; in order to the execution whereof, some of their officers are repaired towards their regiments, and within a few days we expect a return of their proceedings, and of the soldiers' resolution.

The quickening whereof depending much (as we conceive) upon a public declaration in writing from the General, his excellency was pleased (upon receipt of your letter) last night to send us the inclosed copy, directed to sir Hardresse Waller, or his subordinate officer, containing in it a desire that, together with the votes of both houses, it might be published to his regiment: but finding it not to enforce the matter with strength enough, as we supposed, we offered a fuller draught this day to his consideration; a copy whereof, and of our letter accompanying it, we send here inclosed; upon which, his excellency returned the inclosed answer: the reason that moved us thereunto, being a strong distaste (as represented to us by some officers) wrought in the soldiers against the Irish service, which we had hopes such a declaration would in some measure have prevented.

And now being upon the point, we shall make bold to offer, that if the parliament should, in their wisdom, think fit to give order for disbanding such of the army, as are neither reserved by their special command

for the service of this kingdom, nor do engage themselves for Ireland, we conceive that would be the most effectual means of promoting this affair. The soldiers not easily believing but they shall be continued in service here, which, affording an equal pay with that of Ireland, and suggesting fewer difficulties and hazards, cannot but have a greater prevalency with those whose principles of affection to the public are not strong enough to overbalance their private interests: besides, the operation that may proceed from officers, if they be disaffected to the present business, who, though but few in number, will not want opportunities, and such as are not easily to be objected against, or discovered, to discountenance such (having dependance upon them) as are well inclined to the work, and to make misrepresentations, which it will be out of the power of many to rectify or remove: whereas, when the relation to the army is at an end, there will be a greater incapacity, both in ill-affected officers and soldiers, to do mischief, (there appearing in some of the soldiers, by the several petitions and other practices which we hear to be amongst them, too great a promptitude in that behalf,) as also a liberty and necessity of accepting other employment when they shall stand discharged as to this. But that we must refer to the parliament's prudence, which, if it should induce such a resolution, it will be very considerable; that money should be seasonably provided, that so the expectation of a

disbanding, before it be ready for execution, may not beget an inconvenience.

We shall, in the next place, offer to the consideration of your lordships, &c., that whereas three weeks' pay is lately sent down to the army, (which, amounting to fourteen shillings for each foot soldier, is by the settled rules of the army to be paid half to the soldier and the other half to discharge his quarters,) we conceive the allowance of that moiety to the soldier which is designed to his quarters, would be a great encouragement and not unnecessary, considering they are presently upon their drawing out to march to remote quarters, and there to attend the coming of their two months' arrears, till which time, the whole proportion now to be received may otherwise be not sufficient for their subsistence. They will also take notice of a distinguishing respect to them above the rest that engage not with them, and the sum (if allowed) will not be great; the whole, for the eight thousand four hundred foot, arising not to £3,000; which, if afterwards employed to pay the quarters upon tickets left by the officers, will be also discounted upon their arrears: and this the committee of the army may easily perform, if directed by the parliament; the proposing of it to which, or the suspending of it, we refer to your lordships', &c. wisdom. And also those other particulars mentioned in our former, concerning the distribution of the £60,000 per month, between the service of England

and Ireland, and the making known what shall be given to those of the army that are to disband, which may be now the more seasonable, it being given forth that they should have an equal proportion with those that undertake for Ireland; and though the general vote of the houses have determined that the pay of the commanders and officers that go for Ireland shall be higher than of such as are employed in England, yet nothing appearing in order thereunto, by any differencing consideration had of them at first, the favour intended them will not be easily understood.

We find the argument of major-general Skippon's resolution not to go for Ireland, (as given out,) is an abiding objection which we cannot at present resolve. It will be very pertinent, therefore, that that scruple be removed in such sort as the parliament shall think best, having (it may be) before this time either heard from him, or otherwise determined of that charge.

We desire your lordships, &c. to consider the necessity of preparing money with convenient speed for the two months' arrears to such as shall go for Ireland, that their long resting in their quarters, in expectation of it, may neither discourage them, nor invite their withdrawment from the service.

The captain and captain-lieutenant of the General's life guards have voluntarily offered their service for Ireland; and if the parliament shall please to continue five shillings per diem for each of their troop, we conceive that the reputation of it, together with the

quality and experience of those who may join with them, will more than compensate the charge.

We shall only add, that if through the want of an effectual declaration, or otherwise, we shall not find a better compliance, we shall leave this place about Wednesday next, and so return towards London,[n] if your lordships shall not in the mean time give us other order.

And so, desiring God to direct and prosper your councils, we rest,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your lordships', &c. very affectionate friends and servants,

WARWICK.
WILLIAM WALLER.
JOHN CLOTWORTHY.
EDWARD MASSEY.

Saffron Walden,
April 19, 1647.

THE EARL OF STAMFORD[o] TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

MY LORD,—We are here in a very sad condition: all the nobility and gentry are retired to their own

[n] The commissioners returned, and made their report to the house on the 26th April. *Whitlocke.* The proceedings of the army at this period are succinctly told by *Godwin*, b. ii. c. 8.

[o] At this time one of the commissioners from the parliament to Scotland.

houses: the marquis of Argyle is gone to the army, which, God be praised, doth prosper well; yet I have had no particulars since the last week. The sickness increaseth very much in Edinburgh and the adjacent villages, which hath occasioned the premises. And truly, my lord, my own indisposition of health maketh me once more beseech your lordship to crave my return southward. It is not that I can be tired out in their lordships' service or commands, but that I apprehend my longer stay here may occasion much the prejudice of my health, and make me the more incapable of my future service. And so I shall most humbly beseech your lordship to make it my suit, that I may have liberty for a speedy return; and I shall remain,

My Lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

STAMFORD.

Brunston,
April 20, 1647.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—I formerly wrote unto you in the behalf of several gunners, who, having been employed in the army under my command since its first advance, have most of them received maims in the service: they have drawn a petition to the house, desiring that they may be admitted to such gunners'

places in the tower of London, which are now void. I have received so full a testimony of their faithful services, that I cannot but recommend them unto you for a furtherance in their said desires. I remain

Your humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Queen Street,
April 26, 1647.

EDWARD SEXBY AND OTHERS, AGITATORS,[p] TO MAJOR-GENERAL SKIPPON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR,—We, who have (for these two years past and more) been by your honour conducted through many dangers, and by Providence have been hitherto protected, who have often seen the devouring sword of a raging enemy drawn forth against us, threatening destruction to us,

[p] Skippon produced this letter in the house of commons on the 30th of April. It was delivered to him by three troopers, Sexby, Allen, and Shepherd, who were on the same day called into the house, and examined. They were charged with being cavaliers: but Skippon bore witness to their having constantly served the parliament. In the end, Skippon, Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood were ordered to go down to the army, and acquaint them, "that the house would provide a considerable sum of money for them, before their disbanding, and their arrears should be audited, and an ordinance to be brought up for indemnity for acts done *tempore et loco belli*." *Whitlocke, April* 30, 1647.

and now see them vanquished, and ourselves seemingly settled in peace and safety, are yet sensible of a more dangerous storm hanging over our heads than ever the malice of our open enemies could have contrived, or their fury caused to fall upon us; which, unless diverted, strikes not only at our liberty, but also at our lives.

To whom (next to our Maker) shall we fly for shelter, but to your honour, our patron and protector? from what secondary means shall we expect our deliverance, but from that hand that hath so often been engaged with us, and from that heart that hath as often been so tender over us, and careful for our securities? Can we suffer, and you not sympathize? can we be proclaimed traitors, and your honour remain secure? Ah! dear sir, let your wonted care for us be further demonstrated: cease not to speak for us, who, (together with yourself,) in obedience to your commands, have adventured all that is dear to us for the kingdom's safety.

Hath any thing been desired by us that hath not been promised us, or than we have just cause to expect? if there hath, then let it, and the authors thereof, perish. But can the parliament, upon misinformation, pass us for enemies, and we not therein perceive the designs of our enemies? Can we be satisfied with a compliment, when our fellow-soldiers suffer at every assize for acts merely relating to the war? Is it not our lives we seek for? Where shall we be

secure, when the mere envy of a malicious person is sufficient to destroy us?

Were our enemies in the fields with their swords in their hands, we should expect no more than a bare command and a divine protection in our endeavours to free ourselves. But it is another and a far worse enemy we have to deal with; who, like foxes, lurk in their dens, and cannot be dealt with, though discovered; being protected by those who are intrusted with the government of the kingdom. It is the grief of our hearts that we cannot desire our own securities without the hazard of your honour, if but in speaking in our behalf. When shall we see justice dispensed without partiality? or when shall the weal public be singly sought after and endeavoured? Can this Irish expedition be any thing else but a design to ruin, and break this army in pieces? Certainly, reason tells us, it can be nothing else; otherwise, why are not those who have been made instruments in our country's deliverance again thought worthy to be employed? or why are such (who for their miscarriages have been cast out of the army) thought fit to be intrusted, and those members of the army encouraged and preferred to that service, when they are, for the most part, such as (had they considered their just demerits) might rather have expected an ejection than employment?

We are sensible, yea, far more sensible of the bleeding condition of Ireland, crying aloud for a

brotherly assistance, than those forward undertakers in this present design manifest themselves to be; and shall willingly contribute the utmost of our abilities towards their relief, when we shall see this to be the only thing sought after and endeavoured.

But we are confident that your honour cannot but perceive that this plot is but a mere cloak for some who have lately tasted of sovereignty, and, being lifted beyond the ordinary sphere of servants, seek to become masters, and degenerate into tyrants. We are earnest therefore with your honour to use your utmost endeavours, that before any other or further proposal be sent to us, our expectations may be satisfied; and if they are not, we conceive ourselves and our friends as bad as destroyed, being exposed to the mercilessness of our malicious enemies: and shall your honour, or any other faithful servant to the state, be appointed for the service of Ireland, and accept of that employment, we must of necessity (contrary to our desires) shew ourselves averse to that service, until our just desires be granted, the rights and liberties of the subjects of England vindicated and maintained, and then, as God and our own consciences bear us witness, shall we testify to the kingdom the integrity of our hearts to the service of Ireland, and our forward actions shall demonstrate the sincerity of our expressions in reference to that employment.

Once more, we are earnest with your honour for your assistance; without it we are like to be wholly

ruined; and having obtained it, may be enabled, as in duty we are bound, to express ourselves

Your honour's and the kingdom's most faithful and obedient servants, whose names are hereunto annexed as agitating in behalf of their several regiments:

Edward Sexby, Tho. Moore,	Agents for the General's regiment.
Sam. Whiting, Wm. Allin,	Agents for the Lieutenant-general's regiment.
Anthony Nickson, Tho. Sheppard,	Agents for the Commissary-general's regiment.
Wm. Jones, John Cusby,	Agents for Colonel Fleetwood's regiment.
Nicholas Lockyer, Joseph Forster,	Agents for Colonel Rich's regiment.
Hen. Gethinges, Edw. Starre,	Agents for Colonel Sheffield's regiment.
Tho. Lindall, Jo. Thomas,	Agents for Colonel Whalley's regiment.
Tobias Box, Jo. Willoughby,	Agents for Colonel Butler's regiment.

With the rest of the army.

SKIPPON, CROMWELL, AND IRETON TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—We have sent out orders to summon the officers of the several regiments to appear before us on Thursday next, to the end we may understand from them the true condition and temper of the soldiers in relation to the discontents lately repre-

sented, and the better to prepare and enable them (by speaking with them, and acquainting them with your votes) to allay any discontents that may be amongst the soldiers.

We judged this way most likely to be effectual to your service, though it ask some time by reason of the distance of the quarters. When we shall have any thing worthy of your knowledge, we shall represent it; and in the mean time study to approve ourselves

Your most humble servants,

Ch. Skippon.
Oliver Cromwell.
H. Ireton.

May 3, 1647.

THE SCOTTISH COMMISSIONERS TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—In pursuance of the desires of the parliament of Scotland, that such of the Scottish nation as have warrant from them, or their committee thereunto authorized, shall have access to his majesty, whereunto the houses of parliament did agree in their letter of the 27th January last; We are commanded to represent to the honourable houses, that the earl of Dumferline,[q] by his faithful carriage and forwardness

[q] "The earl of Denbigh had leave from the lords to be ab-

in the actions of peace and war, having upon all occasions manifested a consistent affection to religion, and to the union betwixt the kingdoms, and with his best abilities endeavoured to promote the ends of the solemn league and covenant; the estates of the parliament of that kingdom have given warrant to his lordship to repair to Holmeby, and attend on his majesty. Wherein we do, in their name, desire the concurrence of the honourable houses; and remain

Your very affectionate friends and servants,

LAUDERDALE.
CHARLES ERSKINE.
HUGH KENNEDY.
RO. BARCLAY.

Worcester House,
May 6, 1647.

SKIPPON, CROMWELL, IRETON, AND FLEETWOOD TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—According to our orders, sent out to the officers of the army; many of them appeared at the time appointed: the greatest failing was of horse officers, who (by reason of the great distance of their quarters from this place, being some of them above threescore miles off) could not be here; yet there

sent for ten days from Holmeby; and the earl of Dumferline to have access to the king." *Whitlocke, May* 12, 1647.

were accidentally some of every regiment (except colonel Whalley's) present at our meeting, which was upon Friday morning, about ten of the clock.

After some discourse offered unto them about the occasion of the meeting, together with the deep sense the parliament had of some discontents which were in the army, and of our great trouble, also, that it should be so, we told them we were sent down to communicate the house of commons' votes unto them, whereby their care of giving the army satisfaction might appear; desiring them to use their utmost diligence, with all good conscience and effect, by improving their interests in the soldiers for their satisfaction; and that they would communicate to their soldiers the votes, together with such informations, as they received them from us, to the end their distemper might be allayed.

After this had been said, and a copy of the votes delivered to the chief officer of every respective regiment, to be communicated as aforesaid, we desired them to give us a speedy accompt of the success of their endeavours; and if in any thing they needed our advice or assistance, for furthering the work, we should be ready here, at Saffron Walden, to give it them, upon notice from them.

We cannot give you a full and punctual account of the particular distempers, with the grounds of them, because the officers were desirous to be spared therein by us, until they might make a further inquiry

amongst the soldiers, and see what effect your votes and their endeavours might have with them.[r] We desire as speedy an accompt of this business as might well be; but, upon the desire of the officers, thought it necessary for the service, to give them until Saturday next to bring us an accompt of their business, by reason the regiments were so far distant.

As any thing falls out worthy of your knowledge, we shall represent it; and in the mean time study to approve ourselves

Your most humble servants,

CH. SKIPPON.
OLIVER CROMWELL.
H. IRETON.
CHARLES FLEETWOOD.

Saffron Walden,
May 8, 1647.

RICHARD NORWOOD TO MR. PRYNNE.

EVER HONOURED SIR,—Although things continue here, for the most part, much at the same state as formerly you have understood, yet having this oppor-

[r] "Some of the officers desired to know what was meant by 'distempers in the army;' if it were meant 'of grievances, (which the soldiers had just cause to complain of,) they had something to offer, but were unwilling to declare the sense of the respective troops, regiments, and companies, without first acquainting them therewith.'" *Whitlocke, May* 8.

tunity, I make bold to trouble you with these few lines.

I sent over certain Considerations[s] the last year, which were printed: it was a singular ease and comfort to my mind and conscience, when I saw they were published, conceiving I had long been too negligent and backwards in it; and therefore as I am bound to give thanks to God, so to them also by whose favour and furtherance they were published.

I have returned one of the copies to Mr. Sparkes, with some little addition by this gentleman, the bearer hereof, captain Foster, sometime governor here. I thought it would have had many adversaries, (as truth commonly hath,) but I hear of none as yet. When they first came hither by this ship, our Independent ministers were much enraged against it, threatening grievous things, and that was a week or more before I had a sight of it; but since, they have been more frequent in many, many hands. Both our Independent and Presbyterian ministers do well approve of them, and so do the people on either side; no man opening his mouth against any thing in it, only some Independents, of my familiar acquaintance, have told me, I was too bitter against them in one passage,

[s] "Considerations tending to remove the present differences, and to settle unity, peace, and piety, for the present and future. 4to. London, 1646." Watts, who probably copied the error from the Bodleian catalogue, calls the author "Robert;" in the title-page the signature is "R."

where I have taxed them with pride and uncharitableness; but I would they did not give too much and just occasion, and I should soon change that note.

I was about to have written a treatise, dialogue-wise, against the Independents, especially touching Mr. White's book. I had provided many of the materials, and thought at my next vacancy, then at hand, to have digested them into some order; but it pleased the Lord, by very urgent occasions nearly concerning me, and too long here to relate, to take me off, and since then I have never had any mind to return to it again; (also we have heard here that you have answered that book of Mr. White's;) the rather, as I think, because it seems to me, that the Independent side are like to be crushed and roughly handled by those which are no better than they: for, so near as I am able to judge, the most part of those which do indeed fear God, do rather adhere to the Independent side than to the Presbyterian; though I doubt, in the retired parts of it, more dangerous.

We have here only two Independent ministers and two Presbyterian, or that stand eagerly to set up the Presbyterian, and then the reins of government being very slack, or negligently handed, I doubt much what the issue will be; for the ministers on either side do much instigate the people on either side one against another, which is like to produce much bitterness in the end. It is come to that pass already this year, that neither the Independents come

to our church assemblies, nor we to theirs. I was but twice at the Independent church this twelvemonth, and then the governor and council and country (chiefly, I suppose, by the instigation of our Presbyterian ministers) were very much offended, instantly warning me against it with much importunity, as it tended to the subversion of peace here; whereupon I have forborne.

But yet if our two Presbyterian ministers prevail to set themselves in place of government in that way, (which they earnestly desire and endeavour to do,) and the governor seems to be for them, (saying, he hath taken an oath or covenant to that purpose,) I see not that we shall be in any better case; for they are not such in whom a man may discern any true work of regeneration, nor lovers of such. Besides, the one hath been suspected of incontinency; but nothing being evident, I let that pass: the other is a man unreasonably addicted to drinking, and a great companion and favourer of such; and, the governor excepted, there is scarce any other but such that stand for the Presbyterian government here, and it is thought their elders will be made of such men.

But I am shortened of time, the ship being, I think, under sail, having shot off her ordnance, so that I must conclude. But if I were worthy to shew my mind and advice to you, it would be to this purpose: (to omit other things,) you have had sundry conflicts with the Independents, wherein the Lord hath sus-

tained you with an unwearied and undaunted spirit, with singular zeal, constancy, and courage for his truth. They, (I mean some amongst them,) not able to resist that spirit wherewith you are led, have endeavoured to give you more secret wounds, especially to work you out of the good opinions and affections of those that fear God. Now, sir, to frustrate this wicked and malicious practice, I conceive that now, after all, you should do very well, (because it seems that the most, or many of those that truly fear God, do rather adhere to the Independent way than to the Presbyterian, being necessitated to choose one;) you should do very well to use some Christian insinuation (by way of apology, or otherwise, as you shall think fit) into their favours and good opinions, without flattering them in their errors in any sort. This the apostles often do to prevent prejudicacy, and the practice of false apostles, and even Peter preaching to the Jews that crucified Christ, sayeth, "and now, brethren, I know that through ignorance you did it, as did also your rulers;" though no doubt some of them did it of malice.

I know you do this frequently in your writing; but yet, because the adversary doth most batter against this fortress, to wound you, and to make your labours less profitable to the church and people of God, you may be pleased to do it more abundantly; I know your large heart, and tender affection towards the members of Christ among them, will easily pass by

the injuries you have received, and will minister expressions of your love and compassion abundantly. And who knows but that the gentle sunshine of your love and tender affection expressed towards them may, through the blessing of God, more prevail to win them, than all the forcible and convincing arguments you have used.

Thus in haste having rudely uttered my thoughts, I crave pardon for my boldness towards you; and commending you to the gracious direction of Almighty God, I rest

Yours, in all due observance,

RICH. NORWOOD.

Summer Islands,
May 15, 1647.

SKIPPON, CROMWELL, IRETON, AND FLEETWOOD TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—We having made some progress in the business you commanded us upon, we are bold to give you this account; which, although it come not with that expedition you may expect, and your other affairs require, yet we hope you will be pleased to excuse us with the weight of the affair, in comparison whereof nothing that ever yet we undertook was (at least to our apprehensions) equal, and wherein (whatever the issue prove) our greatest comfort is, that our consciences bear us witness we have, ac-

cording to our abilities, endeavoured faithfully to serve you and the kingdom.

The officers repaired to us at Saffron Walden upon Saturday last, according to appointment, to give us a return of what they had in charge from us at our last meeting; which was, to read your votes to the soldiers under their respective commands for their satisfaction, and to improve their interest faithfully and honestly with them to that end, and to give us a perfect account of the effect of their endeavours, and a true representation of the temper of the army.

At this meeting, we received what they had to offer to us, which were delivered to us in writing by the hands of some chosen by the rest of the officers then present, and in the name of the rest of the officers and of the soldiers under their commands, which was not done till Sunday in the evening: at which time, and likewise before, upon Saturday, we acquainted them all with a letter from the earl of Manchester, expressing that an act of indemnity, large and full, had passed the house of commons; and that two weeks' pay more was voted to those that were disbanded; as also, to them that undertook the service of Ireland: and thinking fit to dismiss the officers to their several commands, (all but some that were to stay here about further business,) we gave them in charge to communicate their last votes to their soldiers, and to improve their utmost diligence and interest for their best satisfaction.

We must acknowledge, we found the army under a deep sense of some sufferings, and the common soldiers much unsettled;[1] whereof, that which we have to represent to you will give you a more perfect view; which, because it consists of many papers, and needs some more method in the representation of them to you than can be done by letter, and forasmuch as we were sent down by you to our several charges to do our best to keep the soldiers in order, we are not well satisfied, any of us, to leave the place, nor duty you sent us to, until we have the signification of your pleasure to us, to which we shall most readily conform; and rest

Your most humble servants,

CH. SKIPPON.
OLIVER CROMWELL.
H. IRETON.
CHARLES FLEETWOOD.

Walden,
May 17, 1647.

DR. HOLDSWORTH TO [MR. SANCROFT.]

LOVING SIR,—You will see by this, that I verify the proverb, in making this day the scholar of the

[1] The soldiers had chosen committees out of every troop and company, to confer about the matters communicated to them from the parliament. They returned, "that there was no distemper in the army, but many grievances whereof they complained." *Whitlocke, May* 15.

former: by writing then, I have learned to write again, if this be to write, or not rather to scribble. You may justly retort upon me, that there are many lines, few letters. My failings do partly call for it to supply with number what is wanting in weight. Next this, my respects to this gentleman is motive enough, on whom I cannot bestow too many recommendations. He is a weak scholar, which will be the greater honour to your pains upon him. The nearer the matter is to nothing, the further from nothing is the work; the less he brings, the more he will carry.

Just as the state is of the times, things were never more desperate, nor more hopeful. With my renewed respects, I betake you to God's grace; and remain

Your endeared friend,

RI. HOLDSWORTH.

May 20, 1647.

SIR THO. FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—Having called the officers of the army to St. Edmondsbury,[v] I communicated unto them yesterday the votes of both houses, and a letter of the house of peers sent therewith, concerning the disbanding of the army. After long consultation had

[v] The quarters of the army had a few days before been removed from Saffron Walden to St. Edmondsbury.

thereon, this inclosed was delivered unto me, as the result of the council of war,[u] (where the officers were very many and unanimous, except four officers of eighty-seven;) which being of importance, I held it my duty to hasten the same unto you, being much perplexed in my thoughts, that dissatisfactions betwixt the parliament and the army should rather increase than lessen.

I entreat you, that there may be ways of love and composure thought upon. I shall do my endeavours (though I am forced to yield to some things out of order) to keep the army from disorders, or worse inconveniencies to the kingdom. I desire you to take some speedy resolution for the composing of things, whereby the kingdom may be happy in a timely deliverance from further distractions; for the effecting whereof I could be content to be a sacrifice, as the last service you can have from

Your most faithful and humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Bury,
May 30, 1647.

Since the writing hereof, I received a letter, sub-

[u] "The council of war resolved, that the votes would not be satisfactory, 'because eight weeks' pay voted was not a considerable part of their arrears: and that no visible security was given for what should not now be paid, and that nothing was done for their vindication; they being declared enemies, they might be dealt with as enemies when they came home, unless that declaration were recalled.'" *Whitlocke, May* 31.

scribed by yourself and the speaker of the house of peers, with the votes of both houses there inclosed.

THE COMMITTEE AT CHELMSFORD[x] TO THE COMMITTEE AT DERBY HOUSE.

RIGHT HONOURABLE, &c.—We came to Chelmsford this evening about six of the clock, where we met with major Desborow, with three troops of horse, by order from the General to guard the money. Field-marshal Skippon met us, and gave us this information: that the General went from Saffron Walden on Tuesday last to St. Edmondsbury, where he yet remains.

Yesterday, the General writ to the field-marshal, lying at Walden, advertising him this much: That at a council of war, matters of concernment were voted by them; and as to the drawing out of his own regiment to Chelmsford, on Tuesday, he conceived there was little hopes of doing any thing in that business of disbanding, till the further pleasure of the parliament were known; whereof he hath given notice to both houses of parliament and the committee at Derby house, expecting their further pleasure.

[x] A committee of the lords and commons had been sent down to the army, to give them the thanks of the house, at the head of each regiment, for their faithful services, and to assist the General in disbanding the army. See *Whitlocke, May* 28.

When we came hither, after a little inquiry, we found that, two hours before we came to town, major Goodge's company (who is the major of the General's regiment, and was then with the General at his head quarters) had violently broken open the lieutenant's chamber, and set a musquet at his breast; and after they had possessed themselves of the colours, they marched towards Paine, which is the way to Newmarket, where (we heard) they say will be suddenly a rendezvous of all the foot.

The horse likewise have order with expedition to contract their quarters. We desire your further and speedy instructions, and in particular what order you will give concerning the money. As we were closing our letter, lieutenant-colonel Jackson, major Goodge, and captain Highfield are come hither: and the major meeting with his company upon the way, and demanding of them by what order they removed their quarters; they answered, the horse caused them to remove; further expressing that they received orders from the agitators: all which we leave to your lordships' consideration, and rest

Your lordships' most humble servants,

WARWICK.
LA. WARE.
GILBERT GERARD.
J. POTTS.
HAR. GRIMSTON.
RI. KNIGHTLEY.

Chelmsford,
Monday, May 31, 1647.

P. S. After the council of war had concluded, lieutenant-colonel Jackson received the orders inclosed from quarter-master-general Gravenor, to quarter his regiment; a copy whereof we have herewith sent. We conceive our being here at this time useless, but shall stay till called off by the authority that commanded us hither. The judge-advocate of the army is now come to us, and is able to give you a full and particular account of all the late proceedings of the council of war, very necessary, as we conceive, to be known, and will be with you to-morrow.

COLONEL RAINSBOROUGH TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—According to the order of the house, I came down to my regiment on sabbath day morning. I found them quartered at Long Wittenham, Sutton, and the towns thereabouts, being within two or three miles of Abingdon. When I came, I found most of my officers come up to the general quarters of the regiment, who all the time till then had not dared so much as to appear amongst them: but they had not been long in their quarters, ere the major-serjeant was almost killed by his own soldiers; and his ensign, if he had not exceedingly well defended himself against another company, he had been cut all to pieces; but in defending himself he hath wounded divers of them, two whereof, I am confident, cannot possibly scape with life.

They were quartered so thick, that the people were not able to provide them food; which caused

the soldiers to exact money from them, at the rate of half a crown a day a man: for the amending of which several complaints, I found no other way than to draw them to a rendezvous; where having acquainted them with your order to me, and used all the arguments I could to persuade them yield obedience thereunto, there was not any man returned the least word of answer: whereupon I peremptorily commanded them to repair together no more, unless by special order; but to keep their several quarters, and not to offer to draw out or march any way without the said order, on pain of the highest and most severe punishment.

They are returned to most of the same quarters I found them in, only with a little enlargement; the main being one company, which is my lieutenant-colonel's, which I caused to quarter in the town of Abingdon, to keep guards, and not to suffer any of our soldiers to go to Oxford, which otherwise I am confident they would have done in great numbers, pretending to see their fellow-soldiers.

I hope that course I have taken, and shall upon all occasions take by myself and officers, will prevent all future miscarriage in them; and although I cannot engage for them, yet there shall nothing of care and duty be wanting in him, who is,

Sir,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

THO. RAINSBOROUGH.

Cullum,
June 1, 1647.

FROM THE SOLDIERY TO THE COMMISSIONERS AT HOLMBY.

May it please the honourable commissioners of parliament, we, the soldiery now under his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax's command, have this day, by the general consent of the soldiery, manifested our true love to the parliament and kingdom, by endeavouring to prevent a second war, discovered by them of some men privately to take away the king,[y] to the end he might side with that intended army to be raised, which, if effected, would be to the utter undoing of the whole kingdom.

We shall be able and willing to bring our testimony, when called for, who are the plotters and contrivers therein, this being the only way and means to prevent all those forementioned, that might unhappily come upon us and this whole kingdom, whose weal we have always endeavoured, with the hazard of our lives, and the blood of many of our fellow-soldiers and commanders; this being the only thing presented to us, which put us on our late action for the preservation of the king's person, and furthering the parliament's proceedings, together with the commissioners'

[y] This, of course, is only pretence: the writers of this letter were the very persons who removed the king. When the commissioners demanded of them, what warrant they had for what they did, they only answered, that "it was the pleasure of the army." See *Whitlocke, June 5.*

great care to effect the same, and to discharge the trust reposed in them.

Holmby,
June 3, 1647.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

Mr. Speaker,—This day I received advertisement from Holdenby, that the soldiers of that party formerly assigned to attend the commissioners there, together with some others belonging to the army, (of whose number or quality I have had no account, nor how they came thither,) have of themselves undertaken, by placing other and stronger guards about the king than formerly, to secure his majesty from being secretly conveyed away.

The grounds they allege for the attempt, you may gather from the inclosed paper,* which is the very same copy sent to me in a letter from thence; being, as it seemeth, a kind of declaration presented to your commissioners there by the said soldiers, to set forth their grounds and intentions in the said undertaking.

I understand, that colonel Graves is thereupon secretly slipt away, and therefore I have immediately ordered colonel Whalley's regiment to march up thither, and himself (in the room of colonel Graves) to attend the commissioners, and take the charge of the guard necessary to be kept there, for the pre-

* The foregoing paper from the soldiery.

vention of any dangers or inconveniencies that might ensue. This I thought it my duty to signify unto you, that I might understand the further pleasure of both houses thereupon. I remain

Your humble servant,

St. Edmondsbury,
June 4, 1647.

T. FAIRFAX.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

SIR—I desire you will please to promote the humble petition of the inhabitants of Otley unto the honourable house of commons, for obtaining some certain allowance for maintenance of a minister there, it being a large parish, eleven towns belonging unto it, and the concourse of people great, the means being at present so small as is no ways considerable to support a minister.

I am informed, out of the lands of the dean and chapter of Ripon,[a] there may be a competency to maintain a minister there. It is the parish where myself was born, and therefore I do the more peculiarly recommend it unto you for your favour and assistance, in what may be done herein for the benefit of the said parish; which I shall acknowledge as a great obligation put upon

Your very affectionate friend,

Cambridge,
June 8, 1647.

T. FAIRFAX.

[a] Fairfax anticipated a plan for extending the effective influence of the church, which has, of late years only, been fully carried out.

SIR WALTER STRICKLAND TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—I have thought it my duty to advertise you of all the considerable steps the States and king of Spain make in the carriage of the peace. The king of Spain's ambassadors at Munster acquainted the States' ambassadors at Munster, that the king of Spain had sent to them an instrument, by which he forbids all his subjects to use any hostility by sea against the subjects of the States, but commands that they be well used, and received in all his ports and havens, and hopes the States will do the like to his. This the States' ambassadors have sent to the States from Munster; and the king of Spain's ambassadors at Munster have sent to the archduke Leopold, to command him to see this command of the king's obeyed in Flanders, as at Ostend, Newport, and the rest within his command, so as a cessation of war by sea is declared by the king of Spain as to the States.

But what the States will do in it is not yet known; but I am informed, the States of Holland incline to a cessation on their part, but their resolution is not yet taken in it for the present.

The French ambassador demands of the States what they intend: who say, they have not yet resolved any thing in it; they have resolved to make a peace, but, for the point of a present cessation, to make it without France are things not yet resolved.

The Swedes and French keep close together in their treaties at Munster; for I saw from a good hand, that the Swedes require of the emperor not to assist the king of Spain against the French, or they cannot treat with him. The emperor's ambassador thinks this very hard, in respect that the king of Spain is of the house of Austria; and, as he is duke of Burgundy and Milan, is within the circles of the empire, and some ways a prince of the empire.

Those English here who affect not the parliament, have caused this king's letter[a] to the parliament to be put into Dutch. The substance of that letter was foretold here by Mr. Ashburnham and sir John Barclay; who said to many, that the king would grant the Presbyterian government for three years, and the militia for ten, long before that letter came to the parliament; but those that were his friends he would not forsake. But, sir, it is not strange these men know the king's purposes, but I find it strange they are so punctually advertised of the parliament's; for they know all that passeth there, much more exactly than myself, and do often particularize what this and that member said, in such and such things which have been spoken the same day the post comes from London: which seems strange, that those that would represent all you do to your dishonour should have such timely advices, when your servants,

[a] For more full particulars of the concessions proposed by the king in this letter, see Whitlocke, May 18, 1647.

whose duty it is to keep you right in the eyes of your friends here, can scarce, by any endeavour, get so speedy advertisements.

I wish your counsels might be confined within your walls, till yourselves thought it fit to allow them to go abroad.

No man is more your servant than,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

WALTER STRICKLAND.

Hagh,
June $\frac{20}{10}$, 1647.

SIR THO. FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—It is not many days since I wrote unto you about money for the army, to which, as yet, I have received no answer. It is very well known how long now the soldiers have been without pay: and how can it be expected that either I or my officers should have that influence upon them that is meet, considering the straits they are put into for want of pay?

The private soldier is not ignorant that you have money by you: and certainly the knowledge of that, and the sense of their own wants, doth not a little heighten them in their discontents.

I desire, therefore, in order to the settling of business, the good of the country, and the avoiding all other inconveniencies, that you would order the send-

ing of a month's pay for the army; and that you will be pleased to give order that it may be sent with all possible speed to St. Alban's, where my head quarters will be this night.[b]

I earnestly desire the money may be there by Monday night.

I remain

Your humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Royston,
June 11, 1647.

MAJOR-GENERAL SKIPPON TO THE SPEAKER.

TRULY HONOURED SIR,—By colonel White I received the copy of a letter, sent to alderman Adams from Newcastle, signed J. C., and the votes of this house that the same should be sent unto me.[c]

By this inclosed copy of my letter to my lieutenant-colonel, (who commands there,) you may see what I

[b] The march of the army towards London greatly alarmed the parliament. An order had passed both houses on this same day, the 11th of June, "that the army might not come within fifteen miles of the city." On the following day, Fairfax wrote word, that "he doubted not to give a good account of the reasons of their advance," though at the time he had not received the above order. See *Whitlocke, June* 11, 12.

[c] "Information from alderman Adams, of a design to secure Newcastle for the king, referred to field-marshal Skippon." *Whitlocke, June* 12.

have done thereupon, and do conceive my presence there will no way further the business.

And so, sir, not having further to trouble you with at this time, being loath to be more troublesome to you in your manifold and exceeding great employments than needs must, I humbly take my leave; and remain,

Honourable Sir,
Your very faithful-hearted servant,
CH. SKIPPON.

St. Alban's,
June 14, 1647.

MAJOR-GENERAL SKIPPON TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL ASHFIELD.

SIR,—Had I not been continually employed upon extraordinary businesses, you had ere now received letters from me; but I did oftentimes desire my major, that he would remember me, and communicate those things that fell out unto you.

The urgent cause of my present writing is, upon the receipt of the copy of a letter which the house of commons commanded should be communicated to me; which intimated some unquietness to be in my regiment, in relation to the present proceedings of the army. I therefore held it my duty to God, the parliament, and the kingdom of England, to send you inclosed the votes, orders, and ordinances of parlia-

ment, whereby you may evidently see the care and respect the parliament hath manifested to the army; which may make them justly expect a willing and ready obedience unto their commands: to which end, I very earnestly desire you will cause the said votes, orders, and ordinances to be impartially made known to the officers and soldiers of my regiment; the like I desire by your means may be done to my troop. It being a business of so high concernment, let us, as we will answer to God, as we tender the public peace of this kingdom and our duty to the parliament of England, consult seriously, with conscience, honour, and fidelity, in this case.

The head quarter at present is here, and the army lies near hereabouts; and here are already two lords and six of the house of commons, and within this hour is expected four aldermen and eight of the common council of the city of London to come hither, to use all lawful and fitting means that may be, and to endeavour what we can with the General and the army; that, if the Lord will, further bloodshed may be prevented, and a good peace settled in this kingdom, and the relief of Ireland furthered. What will be the success, the Lord knows, it belonging only unto him. We are not hopeless of a fair accommodation: let us not frustrate the same by any immoderate or irregular proceedings.

I shall put you to no further trouble now: but desire very heartily to be remembered to yourself,

your good wife, all the officers, and the rest of my regiment; praying God so to govern you and them, that you may so carry yourselves in the present conjuncture of things, as you may with the most comfort answer to God, and testify your real affection to the public good; which is and shall be, by God's assistance, the unfeigned and constant desire and endeavour of

Your very real friend to serve you,

CH. SKIPPON.

St. Alban's,
June 14, 1647,
9 in the morning.

To his very worthy friend, lieutenant-colonel Richard Ashfield, deputy governor of Newcastle and Tinemouth Castle, these with all possible speed and trust.

THE SCOTCH COMMISSIONERS TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—Understanding his majesty was carried away from Holdenby, without the authority of the houses, or his own consent, we delivered in a paper upon the 5th of this instant; wherein we expressed our sense of that violent act, and desired he might be brought to some of his houses nearer London. And now having seen the votes of both houses for bringing his majesty to Richmond, whereby it appears they gave no warrant to remove him from Holdenby; to the end we may be able to give a clear account of his present condition to the kingdom of Scotland, we have re-

solved, that some of our number shall for this purpose repair to his majesty at Newmarket, or where he shall be. And, in this time of jealousy and distraction, have thought fit to acquaint the honourable houses therewith, that such as are to go may have their pass.[d] And so we rest

Your affectionate friends and servants,

LAUDERDALE.
CHARLES ERSKINE.
H. KENNEDY.
RO. BARCLAY.

Worcester House,
June 16, 1647.

MAJOR-GENERAL POYNTZ TO THE SPEAKER.

HONOURED SIR,—The 15th of this instant, a surgeon of colonel Copley's regiment marched with the aforesaid colonel's own troop through Leeds to a rendezvous, where some few of other troops met them, upon the moor near Leeds, where they made a halt: the chirurgeon drew some papers out, and read to the soldiers, and told them, that the army in the south desired they should join with them, and that they desired nothing of the parliament but their arrears, and an act of indemnity; and if they had not an act of indemnity, they should be most of them hanged when they were reduced: and, for an ex-

[d] Order for a pass for the lord Lauderdale, and other Scots, to go to the king. *Whitlocke, June* 17.

ample, told them, the judges have hanged fourteen soldiers already, which took horses by order from their officers.

This being done, they saw that they could get but a matter of one hundred and fifty together: they appointed another rendezvous the next day, being the sixteenth, and gave out that all they which did not march with them, they would take their horses and arms from them.

Major Lilburne, who lately came out of Ireland, colonel Lilburne's brother, was also at the head of the rendezvous, talking with the soldiers; and told them, he must ride post to Denton, to sir William Constable's, but he would be with them at the next meeting or rendezvous. Yet none of any other regiments are engaged, that I hear of.

Sir, There are some here that dispute my commission: I humbly desire, if the honourable house think me worthy of the command I hitherto have had, I may have a letter from the house to that effect, and I will venture my life, goods, and blood in the service of the parliament, as I have hitherto done. I do also desire that the parliament will let me understand their intention, what they will have me do with such men as do come in this like manner, to make a mutiny amongst your forces, who have been thus long civil.

These inclosed orders[c] I have sent to all the

[c] See below, p. 236.

officers throughout your army here in the north, to prevent all inconveniencies that might happen.

I humbly desire that this my letter may be read to the honourable house; and that my messenger may be honoured with an answer, and some directions how I may carry myself for the best advantage of your service.

While I am writing of this, I am informed of a second rendezvous yesterday, according to their former appointment, where they met a double number, and some of them returned to their quarters with blue and white ribbons in their hats, as tokens of their engagements; and further say, that their names were taken in writing; and that Lilburne was there, and went that night to Pontefract, which, they say, is to be the head quarters for this design: and I do believe that, under the covert of that castle, they do intend to raise a body of horse and foot, if not prevented. The fair pretence of these men for their arrears and imdemnity does so much take with the soldier, that I have cause to fear, that if they have not some present encouragement, a great part of the army will be drawn away; all which I offer to the considerations of the honourable house, and do earnestly desire your speedy orders;[d] and remain,

Sir,

Your humble and faithful servant,

SEDENHAM POYNTZ.

[d] "Order for a month's pay for the northern association; and

I am credibly informed, that Lilburne does report that the act of indemnity is called in again by order of parliament, which makes a great disturbance amongst the soldiers; therefore I desire that several copies of the act of indemnity may be sent down to me, to the end that they may be read upon the head of every regiment; and that the honourable house will be pleased, for the further encouragement of this army, that those which do continue faithful to the parliament shall have as good conditions as the army in the south.

[*Orders referred to in the foregoing letter.*]

York, June 17, 1647.

It is ordered, that all captains, both of horse and foot, under my command, shall call together their respective troops and companies, and let them understand that the parliament of England have ordered, that all soldiers, that have served in their service since the beginning of this war, shall forthwith have all their arrears paid them, and an act of indemnity be passed for all what they have done in time of hostility. It is therefore ordered, that no trooper or foot soldier shall meet at any rendezvous whatsoever, without order from me. But if any soldier have any grievances to be made known, whereby to have

for major-general Poyntz to secure such as disturb his forces, and to quiet his regiments." *Whitlocke, June* 22.

redress, that he repair to me, and I will give him satisfaction.

SEDENHAM POYNTZ.

FROM THE AGITATORS TO THE MASTERS OF TRINITY HOUSE.

HONOURED FRIENDS,—We have been long silent, but must now speak, because silence may prejudice both you and us. We suppose you have heard (whether rightly or no, we know not) of those things which have fallen out amongst us, at and since our intended petition to the parliament, and their declaring against us for it; which, that you may know more fully, is as followeth.

We were oppressed, and had a way prepared by the parliament in such cases for our ease, unto which we did address ourselves (to wit) by way of petition, not imagining that we should be blamed for, much less declared against as enemies, for doing that which we were allowed and directed to, in case of grievances. But thus it was: while our petition was but only in intention, we are declared enemies to the state, disturbers of the peace, and obstructers of the relief of Ireland, (if persisting,) all very heavy charges to be laid upon innocent persons; and this necessitates us (being not, as we conceived, guilty of the crimes aforesaid) to draw up something by way of vindication; which proved but little useful to us,

we lying still under the aforesaid charges; and in this condition, as persons marked out for destruction.

Then we addressed ourselves, by way of letter, to our three chief officers then in London, viz. the General, lieutenant-general Cromwell, major-general Skippon, hoping that they might be heard to speak for us, when we might not be permitted to speak for ourselves; but this letter was judged to be of a high nature and dangerous consequence by major-general Skippon, and by him was presented to the house, and divers debates about it; the result of which was, to send down commissioners to the army, to inquire after the distempers reported to be in it, and to take a view of the grievance of it, and present them to the house, (as we thought,) to the end they might be redressed. But they (who had begun to lay the destruction, by getting us declared enemies) now as much hasten the end and execution of it, by getting us disbanded piece-meal, and apart from one another, so as never any faithful army was, being still in that declared condition of enemies; and by this means the hearts of the people endeavoured to be stirred up against us, to execute the intended malice of these our enemies upon us.

We, to preserve ourselves, (thus designed to ruin,) drew a petition to our General for a rendezvous, which was granted accordingly; at which we entered into a contract, a copy of which we have sent you. Since that, there have been commissioners sent down with other votes, for an answer to which we refer you

to our declaration, dated June 14, 1647, which expresses the cause of our dissatisfaction; and we the rather do it, because we know it is noised abroad that great things are done for us, especially the calling in of the declaration against us. But we desire such to consider, that if the effects be but removed, and the cause still remaining, that cause will beget the like or worse effects for the future; and we desire you to judge also, what safety we (or any of the free people of England) can be in for the future, whilst these persons, that were the cause of this declaration, are still remaining as our judges, who can presently undo all they have or shall do for us, or else do as much against us as they have in their foresaid declaration. So that the cry of the army and kingdom also is for justice against them, and the removing of them, as the petitions of several counties, brought in to the General, have and do daily testify.

So this is the work that we are about, and hope that we shall have the concurrent assistance of all rational men, who love justice and freedom, and hate tyranny; which is the thing both you by sea and we by land, for these five years last past, have given sufficient testimony, of our love to the one and our hatred to the other, by letting out our blood, and hazarding our lives in many a desperate encounter; and all to oppose tyranny, and to endeavour to set up and establish the just rights and freedoms of all estates and persons in this kingdom, which are yet the ends we seek after.

Thus you have our case before you: we beseech you seriously weigh and consider things; and God direct you to take heed of all those false suggestions of men, given in by any to you against us. And be assured, that as we were, so we are, the kingdom's and your real friends, though unjustly declared to be the state's enemies; and we shall never desire any to own us, or to adhere to us, any longer or further than we shall be acting to these ends, viz. equal right and freedom, and common safety to all.

So, hoping we shall stand right in your apprehensions against all the false suggestions of any tending to divide between you and us, the better to raise themselves on the ruins of both, we leave you to that God whom we hope will never leave you, while you are prosecuting of that (which is pleasing to him) which is justice, and opposing that which is contrary to him, (namely,) tyranny and injustice; which is the desires, and shall be the endeavours of those who are yours and your kingdom's innocent and faithful servants, whose names are here subscribed, chosen to agitate in the behalf of the army.

Lewis Audeley, Captain.	Ral. Knight.
Hen. Cannon.	Tho. Ireton.
Daniel Abbott.	John Clerke.
Francis Ward.	John Carter.
Alex. Brafield.	Edmund Rolphe.
James Berry.	

St. Alban's,
June 18, 1647.

THE COMMISSIONERS ATTENDING THE KING TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—We received yesterday the votes of both houses concerning his majesty's removal from hence to Richmond.

We immediately acquainted the General therewith, by a letter from ourselves; and there is a messenger from us now attending for his answer, which is not yet come to us. We also acquainted colonel Whalley, who commands the parliament guards here, with the said votes, desiring to know of him, whether he had received any order therein from the General, how far he would assist us, or whether we were to expect any interruption from him. He told us that, it concerning the king, it was civil to acquaint him therewith, and after gave us this answer: that the king (the votes not being directed to him) would say nothing until the address were made to his majesty; and the General's pleasure being no way made known to him, he could not, for the present, give us any further satisfaction.

This is all the account we can give you of our proceedings in this business, but shall not be wanting in our endeavours to discharge the trust reposed in us; being, besides the duty that therein lies upon us, much encouraged by the acceptance of our service, and the care you have pleased to express of us, in your letter of the 17th instant, which came to our

hands this morning; and whereby we are obliged to remain

Your most humble servants,
JOHN COKE.
JO. CREWE.
RICHARD BROWNE.
RO. BARCLAY.

Newmarket,
June 18, 1647.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

SIR,—This morning we received the inclosed from the General; colonel Hammond and colonel Lambert being arrived here last night.

That which they gave us in answer to the letters we had written to his excellency concerning his majesty's remove to Richmond, according to the votes of both houses, is contained in the paper inclosed, which was, by our secretary, taken from themselves, and after assented to in our presence; which because it seemed not to express any thing concerning the king's person, in such a manner as your votes require, we desired they would give us a more particular answer thereunto. But they replied only, that we might have any such mistake rectified by a new letter to the General. For themselves, they had nothing else in commission to say unto us, unless perhaps colonel Whalley had some order therein.

Hereupon we spake with colonel Whalley, who told us that he could not answer further until he knew the king's pleasure and the General's, having received no new orders as yet.

And we pressing for further satisfaction, he immediately went in to speak with the king about it, and his majesty was pleased to send for us also; where it being recited what had already passed betwixt us and the colonel, his majesty asked him, whether, if he declared his willingness to go to Richmond, he should not be by him hindered therein.

Colonel Whalley replied, that when he knew his majesty's pleasure, he should forthwith acquaint the General; and believed that he might march thither, or to any other place he pleased.

Then the king told us, that there was not as yet any address made to him on this behalf by the houses, and it concerned his honour not to be in such manner posted from place to place.

We replied, that indeed we had no particular address at this time to his majesty from the parliament, but the letter, which we received with the late votes from the houses, did require us to take care to see them fully observed, as far as in us lies; and since the answer which we expected did depend upon his majesty's consent, by virtue and in pursuance of that general power given us by both houses, we humbly took the liberty to make our address to him therein, his majesty having often de-

clared his desire of being at some of his houses nearer the parliament.

The king replied, that indeed he had often desired it of the houses, and would always keep his word; that he was very sensible of the present distractions, and, in hopes to further the composing of them, and to settle a happier peace in the kingdom, he would accept of the address we made to him by authority from the houses, and dispense with that point of civility which was due in a more express and particular way, and which otherwise he would have stood upon; and then declared to colonel Whalley, that he would willingly go along with us to Richmond.

The colonel desired his majesty to name the day, which the king appointed to be on Thursday next; and colonel Whalley undertook to give the General a speedy account of his majesty's pleasure therein. We thought it also our duty to give you present notice hereof, and to desire that the house at Richmond may be fitted for his majesty's accommodation; and further to acquaint you, that we have sent into Lincolnshire, to command colonel Rossiter's regiment to attend upon this service, having some information that they are in those parts.

But because we are told, that it is not known at the army where that regiment is, we hold it necessary to advertise you thereof, believing they will not be ready here by the time prefixed for his majesty to remove.

Thus hoping you will allow of what we have done in the premises for your service; we remain

Your most humble servants,

JOHN COKE.
JO. CREWE.
RICHARD BROWNE.

Newmarket,
June 20, 1647.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX AND THE COUNCIL OF WAR, TO THE MAYOR, ALDERMEN, &c. OF LONDON.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—We received yours of the 18th of this instant, whereof, though all passages were not so answerable to our expectations as we hoped, yet we apprehend the same good affections in you towards this army as was expressed in your former letter; and that not only from the assurance of the worthy gentlemen (your commissioners) again sent to us, but also from that information we have received of your extraordinary endeavours to procure money for the army, to prevent further raising or listing of soldiers, and to procure those already listed to be disbanded, (some persons of your militia only having been active for the raising of them, without your privity;) as likewise from that letter (filled with respect) which you prepared and intended to us, and, being sent to the parliament,* was obstructed by

* "The letter from the common council of London to the

some persons, who (labouring to embroil the kingdom in a new war) would not have the forces already raised to be disbanded; who excepted against your discovery to the house, that some persons only of the militia had joined in the raising of the new forces, who also would prevent a right understanding between your city and this army, knowing a firm correspondence between them would make the designs of all such men hopeless; and though our taking notice of those things seems not regular, yet being so publicly done, we thought fit to mind you of them.

Now although we have confidence of the real and clear intentions of your lordship, the aldermen, and the commons of your city, to promote the peace of this kingdom, and the just desires of this army; also to prevent all tendencies to a new war, or any further blood, and therefore hold ourselves obliged to yield all possible compliance to what you desire of us: yet adding to the former grounds the many informations which daily come to us, of the continued underhand workings of some persons still to list men; that divers agents are sent into several parts of the kingdom to levy forces, and Worcester the place appointed for a general rendezvous; whither the forces designed for Ireland (that were part of this army) are, by some of the committee at Derby house,

army, now brought to the house, was not approved of." *Whitlocke, June* 18.

ordered to march; and several of those companies, who went out from us for the service of Ireland, having it intimated to them, and by divers carriages perceiving they were intended a foundation for a new army and a new war; they so much abhorred the thoughts of it, as both the officers and soldiers of divers companies are of late entirely returned to us; likewise that no means is left unattempted to bring in forces from Ireland, France, and Scotland, against the peace of this poor kingdom.

We (upon the whole matter) offer to yours and all men's considerations, whether, with yours, ours, or to the public's safety, we can remove further backward, until, upon yours and our joint endeavours with the parliament, those things of immediate and pressing necessity be provided for, which we desired in our paper last given in to the parliament's commissioners, in order to the better proceeding upon the heads of the representation and charge with more hopes of safety, and a timely and happy issue to ourselves and the kingdom; (viz.) that the persons impeached [f] by

[f] On the 16th of June, a charge had been sent to the houses by sir Thomas Fairfax, and the officers and soldiers of the army, against eleven members of the house of commons, whereby they were charged "with obstructing the business of Ireland; to have been actors against the army, and against the laws and liberties of the subject; and obstructers of justice." The members charged, were Denzil Hollis, sir Philip Stapleton, sir William Lewis, sir John Clotworthy, sir William Waller, sir John Maynard, major-general Massey, Mr. Recorder Glyn, colonel Walter Long, colonel Edward Harley,

us may not continue in power and capacity to obstruct due proceedings against themselves, and, for their own escape from justice, to threaten ruin to the whole nation.

That all forces lately raised or listed in or about the city, be forthwith discharged, except the usual number of train-bands and auxiliaries; and that all endeavours, publicly or privately, to raise any further forces may cease, and be suppressed.

And that the same measure may be allowed to this army, in paying them up to the same foot of accompt, as is already given to those who have deserted the same.

And for the things expressed in our representation, though of weighty importance, yet because they will require time, they shall be no occasion to impede our remove; and in the mean time, both by proclamation from his excellency, and all other ways, we shall endeavour that the accustomed supplies to your city may be freely sent up.

To conclude, we say from our hearts, that as our especial ends are the glory of God and the good of this whole land, so our endeavours shall be to prosecute the same without prejudice to the being or well-being of parliaments in general, (the main-

and Anthony Nichols. See *Whitlocke, June* 16. The house resolved, "that what shall be particularly charged against their members, with testimony and witnesses, shall be received, and the house proceed in a legal way therein." *Ibid. June* 23.

tenance whereof we value above our own lives,) or (as we have formerly said) of this parliament in particular; but altogether, in order to the good and peace of this nation, and with a most tender regard to your city, to which we profess we shall, by all actions, make good all engagements tending to the security thereof, in what way yourselves shall desire, consisting with the good of the whole kingdom; you making good your mutual correspondence with us, not doing any thing to our prejudice in the prosecution of our just desires and endeavours.

St. Alban's,
June 21, 1647.

We hear, (even now,) since the writing of this letter, that (yesterday) divers of the reformadoes came again (in a threatening manner) to Westminster, the house of commons then sitting, to the great affrightment and terror of divers faithful members then present, and to discouragement of others from their attendance there; so that we cannot but perceive that the freedom of this parliament is no better than that those members (who shall, according to their consciences, endeavour to prevent a second war, and not contrary to their ways, who for their own preservation intend it, they) must do it with the hazard of their lives; which, indeed, is a thing so destructive to parliaments and freedom, that we conceive ourselves in duty bound to endeavour to the utmost to procure redress therein.

By the appointment of his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax, and the council of war.

Jo. Rushworth, Secretary.

June 22, 1647.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

Mr. Speaker,—There came lately unto me a gentleman out of Glamorganshire, who informs me, that certain of the gentry and inhabitants of that county are lately risen in arms,[g] and stand upon their guard, pretending it to be against the illegal proceedings of the committee of that county, contrary to ordinance of parliament, as by the inclosed paper will at large appear.

But, lest their intentions might be otherwise than what is pretended, I immediately, upon notice thereof, wrote unto the committee of that county, and to major-general Langhorne, desiring them to require the said parties to repair to their several homes. I wrote also myself unto the gentlemen so met together, that if they would immediately separate themselves and lay down their arms, without occasioning further trouble, that their persons should not be seized on as to that business.

[g] "Letters from major-general Langhorne, of an insurrection in Wales, who declared themselves for the king; and sir Thomas Fairfax and the major-general went to suppress them." *Whitlocke, June* 21.

I was the rather induced to make this offer unto them, because of some assurance I received by the gentleman that came unto me from those parts, that they would immediately, upon my letter, disperse themselves. However, I have desired the committee of the county to return a speedy account unto the parliament of their proceedings herein, that such further course may be taken for preserving the peace of those parts, as shall be requisite. I remain

Your humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

St. Alban's,
June 22, 1647.

Since the writing hereof, I received your letter, and papers inclosed, concerning this business; but I hope, what I have already written will give the house satisfaction. I have also this evening received a letter from you concerning colonel Birch, but before the receipt thereof he was returned back from hence unto the house; who, I hope, will give such a candid account of that business concerning himself, as you will find all tenderness and regard had unto him as a member of the house.

COLONEL BIRCH TO THE SPEAKER.

HONOURABLE SIR,—In obedience to your commands, and so soon as I received my despatch, which

was yesterday, the 21st instant, about three of the clock, I set forward on my journey towards Hereford, by the way of Bristol, where I was to receive part of the money for my regiment by exchange; and, in order thereunto, came the last night to Bagshot, where I took up my lodging, having with me only two of my servants: to which place, in the night, came a party of horse, to the number of nineteen; two or three of them came up to my chamber, the rest stood ready in the court: those that came up, civilly knocked at my chamber door; who, after they came in, told me they were part of the horse guards sent to desire me to come back to their guard: to whom I replied, I would not go back, neither did I know any of that guard that had power to require any such thing from me; further assuring them, that had they required such a thing of me when I had been in a capacity, I would have endeavoured to have made them sensible of my displeasure.

When they perceived persuasion prevailed not, they told me plainly, that they had orders to bring me, and bring me they must. Whereupon, there being no other way, I was by them forced to go back to Egham, and thence brought this day, at eleven o'clock, to Windsor, and there brought to speak with colonel Rainsborough; who told me, that it was a general order, given out for the stay of persons who had that relation to arms that myself had. Whereupon I shewed him your pass, which requires obe-

dience, and ratifies my present employment for the service of the kingdom of Ireland; notwithstanding which, colonel Rainsborough was pleased to tell me, that he could not discharge his trust, unless I should go to the General at St. Alban's; to which my answer was, that if the guard now upon me, or that should be appointed, were too strong for me, as hitherto they had been, I must be forced to give such obedience as hitherunto I had done since I have been in their power. Whereupon a guard or convoy is ready to attend me to the head quarters,[h] whither I am instantly going in a capacity wherein I never was before. However, I must needs acknowledge I have received civil usage from the private troops that seized upon me, there being no officer with them, and I doubt not to find the like in this my strange journey to St. Alban's. However, as no difficulty hath hitherto deterred me from the observance of your commands, so when discharged of my present attendance, which I suppose will be this night, I shall hastily prosecute your former commands towards the relief of the distressed kingdom of Ireland, and from time to time shall endeavour to give you such an account as becometh

Your honour's most faithful servant,

JOHN BIRCH.

Windsor,
June 22, [1647.]

[h] Colonel Birch, stopped by the guards, was discharged by the General." *Whitlocke, June* 23.

THE COMMISSIONERS ATTENDING THE KING TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—We received your letters yesterday, by sir Peter Killigrew, who arrived here at twelve of the clock. We forthwith delivered the letter from both houses to his majesty; who, having read it in our presence, told us, that it was a very fair and civil invitation; that he was glad of it, and confirmed thereby in his resolution of coming to Richmond, since he found the address we had made to him was according to the intention of the houses. We have this day sent part of his majesty's stuff from hence to Royston, the king having appointed to lodge there on Thursday night, and at Theobald's upon Friday, with resolution to march thence, upon Saturday, to Richmond.

Upon the orders we despatched to the commander, upon the place of colonel Rossiter's regiment, which were received by major Twisleton, near Grantham, upon Monday last, we had the inclosed in answer from himself. Whereupon we have written to him to attend the king at Royston, upon Thursday night, without fail, as you may see by these our second orders, and a copy whereof we have here sent you. And being much encouraged by your approbation of our service to be diligent therein, we remain

Your most humble servants,

John Coke.
Jo. Crewe.
Richard Browne.

Newmarket,
June 23, 1647.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX AND THE COUNCIL OF WAR TO THE COMMISSIONERS AT ST. ALBAN'S.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—In answer to the letters of the house of commons which we received from you this day, expressing their readiness to receive any particulars, and to hear any witnesses against the gentlemen impeached by the army,[1] we shall be bold to mind you, that our remonstrance sent to you the last night, to be presented to the two houses, doth express the desires and reasons of the army to have the members charged to be suspended from sitting in the house, which (if not granted to us) we know their interest and prevalency is such, that we can expect but small fruit in further proceeding; nor can we hope for good to the kingdom or settlement of an happy peace, as long as men of their interests and prevalency have power to justify themselves and practices in parliament; which that they may the better effect, do still endeavour, by all means possible, to inflame this kingdom in a war, and to that end do countenance divers reformadoes and others to awe all men in the house of commons, who stand for public interest; and inviting others from all parts of the kingdom to the cities of London and Westminster, under pretence of satisfaction for their arrears; but indeed, to raise an army, to which we

[1] See before, p. 247, note *f*.

shall be forced, to the uttermost of our powers, to apply a timely remedy, as being the only way and means we know of to prevent the embroiling this nation in a second and most miserable war, than which nothing is more odious unto us.

By appointment of his excellency and the council of war.

Jo. Rushworth.

St. Alban's,
June 24, 1647.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

Mr. Speaker,—By yours of the 17th June instant, I am commanded to render the charge of his majesty to the commissioners now attending his majesty at Newmarket. To which I humbly answer, that your commission have attended the person of the king ever since his coming from Holdenby, and have been by me desired to continue the discharge of their trust, which was committed to them by the parliament. Which that it might be the better performed, I gave them a guard of two regiments of horse, who do at this time attend the king and commissioners at Newmarket.

I humbly conceive I have nothing else to answer to, as touching this matter. As to our removal to further distance from London, we entreat we may receive an answer to the desires of the army in the

papers last we sent you, conceiving we shall neither give satisfaction to the kingdom nor to the army, who are in expectation of some effect thereupon.

There is also information of daily underhand preparations of forces, and the keeping up of those that are raised publicly avowed; together with other grounds of jealousy, occasioned by the endeavours of some to bring in foreign forces, and by sending divers officers into several parts of the kingdom, to possess places of strength, and to raise men, which, to our apprehensions, tend to the raising of a new war; whereof I thought fit to give you this account. I remain

Your most humble servant,

June 25, 1647. T. FAIRFAX.

THE COMMISSIONERS ATTENDING THE KING AT ROYSTON TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—We received yours this morning at six of the clock, and have delivered the letter from both houses to the king accordingly.[k] His majesty, though much pressed to the contrary, was fully resolved upon his journey to Richmond, and had given orders for his dining at Ware, whither the provision of his house

[k] "The lords desired the commons' consent to a letter to the king, that by reason of some late accidents, they humbly entreated his majesty either to stay at Royston or Theobald's, or to return to Newmarket; to which the commons agreed." *Whitlocke, June* 24.

was gone before. But he hath now pleased to let us know that he will stay here this day, and that we shall understand his further pleasure hereafter.

Colonel Rossiter's regiment is upon their march to the army, by the General's orders; and colonel Whalley commands the same guards here which attended at Newmarket. This is all we have to return to you at present; remaining

Your most humble servants,

JOHN COKE.

JO. CREWE.

RICHARD BROWNE.

Royston,
June 25, 1647.

THE COMMISSIONERS WITH THE ARMY TO THE SPEAKER.

HONOURABLE SIR,—Last night we came to this town, being the head quarters of the army.

The General this morning hath acquainted us, that he intends to march this day to Uxbridge, and that part of his forces were then on their march thither.

We understand that the General's intentions are, that no part of the army shall be nearer the city than fifteen miles; and that the van of the army is drawn on already so near the city. Colnbrooke, Staines, Uxbridge, and Watford are designed for the foot quarters.

There came hither last night a committee from the common council of the city of London to reside

here; who inform us, that they have received the like intimations from the General, with this further assurance; that if, in order to the ends mentioned in their late remonstrance, the army be enforced to draw nearer the city, the city shall have timely notice thereof, and have no prejudice by their advance: and to this purpose they expect this morning to receive a letter from the General, to be sent to the lord mayor and common council.

We have and do take all opportunities to represent to the General our objections against the march of the army towards London, but find little effect thereof; all men's expectations being set on the resolutions which are hourly expected by the army: and we shall not be wanting, according to the present instructions that we have, to serve you with all faithfulness.

The General was pleased to acquaint us, likewise, that he had received an order of both houses for the king's person to remain at Royston, or to go back to Newmarket, under such guards as he shall appoint, of which he would take care; and so rest,

Sir,

Your most humble and faithful servants,

CH. SKIPPON.
J. GRAVES.
ROB. SCAWEN.
WILL. WHITE.

Berkhamstead, June 25, 1647; about two of the clock, afternoon.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX AND THE COUNCIL OF WAR TO THE COMMISSIONERS WITH THE ARMY.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—In answer to your desire of a reason of the army's motion this day, we thought fit to let you know that our quarters are more contracted, but not nearer London than before, viz. at Watford, Uxbridge, and the towns about it; where we wait for an answer to our just demands, presented to the parliament.

We have often said, we cannot stand as lookers on to see the kingdom ruined by the obstruction and denial of justice; and therefore we desire you to move the parliament we may not be held still in doubt, and put upon the disputes of their commands, to which we shall yield ready obedience, when we see the kingdom in a possibility of settlement, which we conceive cannot be, unless that the fountain of justice be delivered from those that corrupt it.

By the appointment of his excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax and his council of war.

John Rushworth.

Berkhamstead,
June 25, 1647.

THE COMMISSIONERS WITH THE ARMY TO THE SPEAKER.

Honourable Sir,—We came hither last night, where we found the General with three regiments of

foot, the train of artillery, and some horse, four regiments of foot more being quartered at Watford, and three at Colnbrooke; and most part of the horse behind, and on the sides of the foot; and that, by order, the soldiers came provided with four days' victuals.

This morning, sir Thomas Widdrington and Mr. Povey came to us very early, and brought us the votes of the house that passed yesterday concerning the members charged by the army.[1] We, having some intimations that the army was to march this morning, went instantly to the General, and communicated those votes, and such other proceedings of the house as came to our knowledge in relation to the army, the better to let them see the inclinations of the house towards the army's satisfaction; and did desire that nothing might arise from them that might either disturb the house in their counsels, or minister further occasion of jealousy, which, we told them, we very much feared a report, which had lately come to us of the army's moving nearer London, would do: the certainty whereof we desired to know, and what their intentions were therein, and of their moving.

[1] "Debate on the charge of the eleven members, and voted, 'That by the law, no judgment can be given to suspend those members from sitting in the house upon the papers presented by the army, before the particulars be produced, and proofs made; and that it doth not appear, that any thing has been said or done in the house by any of those members, touching any matters in the papers sent from the army, for which the house can in justice suspend them.'" *Whitlocke, June* 25.

We then understood from the General and his officers, that, at twelve last night, orders were given, upon consideration that the whole body of foot were so closely contracted, that the quarters should be enlarged every way, as well towards London as otherwise, for the mutual ease of the country and soldiery.

Against this resolution we immediately declared our objections, and very earnestly expostulated the business with the General and officers, as that which, according to our apprehensions, would minister jealousy and discontent to the houses, and obstruct the composure of things, which we found your inclinations and actions leading unto: to which the General and officers replied, (and prayed us so to represent their proceedings in this business,) that they might be necessitated to some actions of this nature, that might carry in the face of them occasion of jealousy; whereas, in truth, they are done for the ease of the country and soldiery, and did desire that this action might be so looked on by the parliament. But withal, in this conference, we so far prevailed with the General and officers, that though the quarter-masters were gone before and some regiments were on their march towards Harrow on the Hill, and other places thereabouts, the orders were immediately countermanded, and new quarters are assigned them; with this declaration, that none of them are appointed to be nearer London than fifteen miles.

In this debate, we labouring to possess them with

your good intentions for their satisfaction, and to draw them to a certainty, that their removal from hence may be at a further distance from London, they made us this answer; that there were some things unresolved by the houses, contained in their late remonstrance, that were of immediate and absolute necessity to the being of the army: (viz.) the first article, concerning the recalling of the declaration, inviting men to desert the army; the second, for equal pay for this army with those that have deserted it; and the fifth, for the discharging and dispersing of such as have deserted this army. In which, if they may receive the houses' pleasure speedily, they give us hope of a certain answer touching the motions of the army at a further distance from London.

These things we thought fit to acquaint you by sir Thomas Widdrington, finding the army's expectation to be very great upon the resolutions of parliament this day to be taken.

The General told us, that the king was unwilling to go back to Newmarket, and that he would be this night at Hatfield. Thus we rest,

Sir, Your most humble and faithful servants,

CH. SKIPPON.
J. GRAVES.
THOMAS WIDDRINGTON.
WILLIAM WHITE.
ROB. SCAWEN.
THOMAS POVEY.

Uxbridge,
June 26, 1647,
about 3 of the clock.

MAJOR-GENERAL POYNTZ TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—I cannot let any opportunity pass, but must of necessity give you an account of what happens in these parts; it being resolved by most of the field-officers under my command here, that I should write a letter to his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax,[m] (the copy thereof I send you here inclosed, and also a copy of an order which I gave to colonel Copley, to use his best endeavours by fair means to persuade the soldiers which are already at Pontefract;) and undertaken to send out orders to appoint rendezvous, to the great disturbance of your forces in the northern parts. In Pontefract is the consulting place, where major Lilburne and the rest of these discontented men do endeavour to make these disturbances; all which I thought my duty to impart unto the honourable house, in testimony that I am,

Sir,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

Sedenham Poyntz.

York,
June 26, 1647.

Sir, My messenger, which you returned with the ordinances of both houses, was stayed by the guards of his excellency's army, and carried to commissary-

[m] Poyntz himself was a rigid Presbyterian, and anxious that his soldiers should continue faithful to the parliament; but they, very shortly after the date of this letter, avowed their adherence to the army under Fairfax.

general Ireton and colonel Whalley, notwithstanding he shewed your pass. He had some three letters to me, and one to the lord Valentia, which were opened: the one letter to me was from a Dutch merchant, which they still detain from me; the other from a worthy member of the honourable house.

THE COMMISSIONERS WITH THE ARMY TO THE SPEAKER.

HONOURABLE SIR,—We received yours, dated yesterday, last night, past eleven of the clock, with the votes and resolutions of both houses, touching a further power for us to treat and debate with the General and army, and the votes for disbanding of any forces listed, and for leave for the eleven members to be absent:[n] all which we have communicated this morning to the General, and desired him to put the business of the treaty into a speedy way; which he promised to consider of with his council of war.

This afternoon the General sent us, by commissary-general Ireton and some others of his officers, this inclosed, in answer to our desires yesterday, to know what things they desired to have granted before the

[n] The eleven members, finding resistance unavailing, endeavoured to withdraw with a good grace, and applied to the house for leave of absence for six months, and permission to go beyond sea; which the house, as Whitlocke expresses it, "at last agreed to." *Journals of the Commons, June* 26.

army drew back: upon perusal of which, we told them that there were some things expressed in the paper that the house had already granted; to which they gave us this return: that the heads of this were resolved at a council of war before your last resolutions came to their knowledge, and had not since met, and therefore the paper may contain some things that the houses have already answered: and, upon conference, they did discover thus far of their intentions touching their remove; that they intended to make Reading their head quarter, and that the body of their army should lie behind and on the sides of Reading; but that to be their nearest quarter towards London.

We conceive that the treaty is likely little to advance while the army remains here; and therefore your speedy resolution to the things contained in the inclosed paper, will speed both the remove of the army from hence, and draw on the treaty: in which, when things are ready for it, we shall serve you with all diligence and fidelity, to the utmost of our power and interest, as befits,

Sir,

Your very faithful and humble servants,

CH. SKIPPON.
ROB. SCAWEN.
THO. POVEY.
H. VANE.
WILL. WHITE.

Uxbridge,
June 27, 1647.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

HONOURABLE SIR,—We had very late this afternoon an information given us, that Dr. Sheldon and Dr. Hammond,° (two of the king's chaplains,) Mr. Kirke, Mr. Leveston, and Mr. Henry Murray, (all of the bedchamber to the king,) were gone to the king at Hatfield, and had access to his person, which we thought ourselves in duty obliged immediately to know of the General, (especially in regard that the two chaplains were desired formerly, and the houses forbore to give any resolution therein,) which we have done, since our despatch this day, by colonel White and Mr. Povey; and the General tells us, that it is very true the king wrote to him for those two chaplains, about a fortnight since, but he never gave him answer; whereat the king was angry; and that he hears they are at Hatfield, but by no order of his; and that the commissioners there, who have power to restrain their coming, will not direct colonel Whalley so to do: and colonel Whalley, on the other hand, conceives he hath not power to debar their access without the commissioners' order; and thus, between both, they have freedom, whereof we thought fit to

° The commons ordered that Drs. Hammond and Sheldon should be removed from attendance on the king, (*Whitlocke, June* 28,) but it was Cromwell's policy to indulge the king with the society of his personal friends. See *Godwin*, b. ii. c. 10.

acquaint you; as also, that the General then told us, that a resolution was taken to draw back some of the quarters of the army as far as Wycombe, Beaconsfield, Oakingham, Marlow, and Henley, but the head quarters will remain here, in expectation of your further answer to their desires, sent up this day by colonel White and Mr. Povey; so rest,

Sir,

Your most humble and faithful servants,

CH. SKIPPON.
H. VANE.
ROB. SCAWEN.

Uxbridge,
June 27, 1647;
12 at night.

THE COMMISSIONERS WITH THE KING TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—Immediately after we received the votes concerning his majesty's remove to Holdenby, we acquainted him therewith. He answered, that he had already resolved to remove to Windsor, and sent part of his stuff thither, and on Thursday intends to set forwards towards that place; which he would have done to-morrow, had it not been the fast. After his coming thither, if he were moved, he said, we should have his further answer.

Colonel Whalley hath not yet received any di-

rections from the General, so as we cannot give you any other account of the commands you have laid upon us, either in this of his majesty's removal, or by your former votes; but remain

Your most humble servants,

JOHN COKE.
JO. CREWE.
RICHARD BROWNE.

Hatfield,
June 29, 1647.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX AND THE COUNCIL OF WAR TO THE COMMISSIONERS WITH THE ARMY.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—By the votes[p] you were pleased to communicate to me this morning, I find the parliament hath taken into their consideration those propositions of the army, which necessarily craved some satisfaction before the withdrawing of it; and that their progress already made (though but in part) meets with such a compliance in my council of war, that it begets in them a general confidence of

[p] In addition to important concessions made by the parliament respecting the eleven members, the following votes were passed: "That no officer or soldier of the army shall leave the army without licence or discharge from the general; That they do own this army as their army, and will make provision for their maintenance and for their pay equally with those that have deserted the army." *Journals, June* 28.

the house's speedy and full answer to the remaining propositions; and therefore, to testify the readiness of this army to observe the commands of parliament, they have resolved to move the army to a further distance, and the head quarters to be this night at Wycombe; believing that this forwardness on their part, to satisfy both parliament and city, will not retard, but hasten rather the resolutions of the houses, with a full satisfaction to the particulars not yet answered; and also acquit this army of many jealousies and unjust aspersions cast upon it.

By the appointment of his excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax and the council of war.

JOHN RUSHWORTH.

Uxbridge,
June 29, 1647.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—I am very sensible of the great inconveniencies which delay in the speedy settlement of the affairs of the kingdom may produce, and therefore I am ready, according to the parliament's desires, to appoint officers to treat and attend your lordships for that purpose, with all possible speed, that delay may not rest on my part.

But I must needs tell you, that the army is unsatisfied, and do conceive themselves and the kingdom unsafe, until their last propositions, delivered in

unto the house, be fully answered, which they hope will be the parliament's next care; and therefore desire to know their pleasure concerning them, before they come to a conclusion in any thing: which being done, I am confident they will proceed, with unanimous intention, to observe their commands in all things which may tend to the good of this kingdom.

By the appointment of his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax and his council of war.

JOHN RUSHWORTH.

Wickham,
June 30, 1647.

THE COMMISSIONERS WITH THE KING TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—This afternoon, about four of the clock, supposing by that time an answer might be received from the General, we again desired to speak with colonel Whalley; who assured us, that he had not as yet received any orders from his excellency concerning the removal of persons that, contrary to our instructions, resorted to the king.

We replied, that it lay upon us to require the performance of the commands laid upon us by your votes, which we desired might be done in that course which we had taken at Holdenby, in this manner: to wit; that when any person suspected to have been in arms against the parliament, or otherwise within

the five articles of our instructions, was discovered to be in the court, he was instantly, by our directions, given to the chief commander of the guards present, brought before us, and, upon examination, if the information proved to be true, he was appointed by us to be removed, or committed, as the case required; which was accordingly put in execution by the chief commander of the guards present, in pursuance of the orders we gave him. Conformable whereunto, we named unto him Dr. Sheldon and Dr. Hammond, to be proceeded against in like manner.

Colonel Whalley answered, that he was to obey the orders of the General, and by express authority of the houses, questionable at a council of war for his life, if he did otherwise.

That he was to expect particular commands from the General, even by the votes which at present we insisted upon; and that our orders were not satisfactory to him, until he had received his; wherein he supposed the sense of the two houses could not be otherwise taken: for that they would not impose upon him an obedience which might involve him in a contradiction to the General's orders; which if he observes not, his life was at stake.

But it was clear they intended not to ensnare him therein, having positively referred him to orders which he was to receive first from his excellency, to whom he should make a second speedy address to that purpose.

Hereby, sir, you may well understand that we are in no capacity of serving you, either in this, or what concerns his majesty's remove; presuming you will not expect we should take this employment upon our own hands, without the ministry of those you have appointed to obey us.

We have now, sir, most constantly attended upon this service, and do earnestly desire to be discharged; which shall be taken as a special favour to

Your most humble servants,

JOHN COKE.
JO. CREWE.
RICHARD BROWNE.

Hatfield,
June 30, 1647.

DR. HOLDSWORTH TO [MR. SANCROFT.]

LOVING SIR,—I have now no business at Cambridge, save only to salute you, being very desirous to hear, at your best leisure, how Mr. Parkhurst proceeds, as also your other pupils in whom I have an interest.

The affairs here are so pendulous, that many are cast into frights what the issue will prove; yet, for myself I confess, to me they appear very hopeful; the finger of God being very discernible, and bidding us to lift up our heads a little, because the salvation draws nigh. Therefore, as I be prepared for the

worst, so I will hope the best; and in all conditions delight to subscribe myself

Your affectionate friend,

RIC. HOLDSWORTH.

June 30, 1647.

SIR THO. FAIRFAX TO THE COMMISSIONERS WITH THE ARMY.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—Having, with my council of war, considered the votes of the house of commons, of the 29th June, 1647, which you sent me, for the bringing in the particular charge against the members, charged by the army, by Friday next at furthest; as I find a great willingness in them to answer the expectation of the house in all things, so in this particular; but the thing being of that importance to the kingdom, and the persons charged so many in number, hath taken up more time than was expected.

We desire, therefore, it may be respited until Tuesday next, at which time we shall not fail to bring it in; and that the kingdom shall see we have not impeached the gentlemen out of private respects, but in affection and duty to the public. I remain

Your very affectionate friend and servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Wycombe,
July 1, 1647.

THE COMMISSIONERS WITH THE ARMY TO THE SPEAKER.

HONOURABLE SIR,—We have this night made a despatch to you by an express, touching the putting of the treaty into a way. Since that, we have received from the General the letter inclosed, concerning the charge against the eleven members, which we conceive ourselves in duty obliged immediately to send unto you by another express.

In the morning we enter upon the treaty, an account of which day's proceedings we intend to transmit unto you by some of our number, to be with you on Saturday. We rest,

Sir,

Your most humble and faithful servants,

CH. SKIPPON.
TH. WIDDRINGTON.
H. VANE.
WILL. WHITE.
ROB. SCAWEN.

Wickham, July 1, 1647, at 12 at night.

THE COMMISSIONERS WITH THE KING TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—The king removed yesterday from Hatfield to Windsor, where colonel Whichcoat being governor, he hath the command of the present guards; and we have given him our orders to remove Dr. Sheldon

and Dr. Hammond from about the person of the king, with all others that by your late votes, and the fifth article of our instructions, are not to be permitted access to his majesty. These orders he hath willingly received from us, and undertaken to obey them accordingly. The duke of Richmond went away from Hatfield.

This is all we have at present to acquaint you with, being very desirous, as far as in us lies, to observe your commands; remaining

Your most humble servants,

JOHN COKE.
JO. CREWE.
RICHARD BROWNE.

Windsor,
July 2, 1647.

The king intends to remove from hence to Caversham, near Reading, to-morrow.

PRINCE CHARLES LODOVIC TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—The unhappy differences between the king and parliament being in a hopeful way of composure, and his majesty, for the present, near these parts, it is looked upon as what may well become my duty, in the near relation I have to him, to make a journey to kiss his hands. Yet out of my respects (which are unalterable) to this house, I thought fit to forbear it, until I know whether they

will approve of it.[q] I do therefore desire you to acquaint them herewith, that in case it stand with their liking, I may send also to know his majesty's pleasure therein. Thus I rest

Your most affectionate friend,

CHARLES LODOVIC.

July 2, 1647.

THE DEPUTY-LIEUTENANTS AT CHESTER TO THE SPEAKER.

HONOURABLE SIR,—Having formerly passed through many imminent dangers in this county, in the faithful discharge of our services to the state and parliament, whereby we hoped we had wrought ourselves into a settled and peaceable condition at least, free from any violence of the soldiery on our parts; we find by acts of woful experience, exercised upon ourselves within this county, notwithstanding all our enemies therein, that it is a matter of great difficulty to perform the same, and therefore it must needs be of infinite more difficulty to settle the great and weighty differences of the whole kingdom; and we cannot but be sensible of the unwearied pains of the worthies of parliament, therein to be had in remembrance to all succeeding ages.

[q] "Upon the prince elector's desire, it was left to his pleasure to visit the king, if he thought fit." *Whitlocke, July* 3.

Mr. Speaker, It pleased the parliament long since to settle a garrison in Chester of six hundred men, and a troop of horse in the county, which have been paid by this impoverished county till near about March last; that by ordinance of parliament, this garrison was to be paid (amongst others then voted to continue) out of the moneys of the state; but since then no moneys have come hither, so that the soldiers, both horse and foot, being four months unpaid, have taken upon them the boldness and impudence to seize and enthral our persons, some of us from our houses, and others of us at our meetings for the parliament's service, and to draw and enforce us to Chester, like rogues and thieves, in base and disgraceful manner, and to bring us openly through all the streets, (there being no street free from the infection of the plague, it being spread through the whole city,) and at their wills and pleasures to remove us, sometimes throwing us all, being in number fifteen persons, into one little room, part of the common gaol, where there was neither bread nor provision of meat or drink, nor any accommodation for nature, but publicly, like beasts, amongst ourselves; our friends denied to come to us; and being in this sad condition and durance, we were threatened by some of them shouting to hang us, and others to cut our throats or destroy us, and cast us into infected houses; and yet it pleased God to work upon the hearts of some of them to relent at the miserable danger our lives were then in, and, at

the persuasions of the governor and other officers, (whose commands they slighted,) to remove us again into a house, where we have two or three rooms, and necessary accommodation to preserve our lives; and yet, by reason of the spreading infection of the plague, we know not which of ourselves are safe or free from it, by reason the tumultuous rout were always thronging upon us, some of them being since thought to be infected.

Mr. Speaker, The desperate and barbarous acts of these soldiers are without precedent, and of dangerous consequence, as we humbly conceive, who sought utterly to destroy and hinder us by lingering torments; and truly the condition and quality of some of the men being now imparted and discovered to us, and being considered, we could expect no less, for that, as we are informed, many of them have served against the parliament, and some of them under the rebels in Ireland.

Mr. Speaker, To redeem our persons and save our lives, (nothing satisfying them but present money,) we have been enforced to take upon us the payment of all those four months' pay, both of horse and foot, which, together with another month's pay, which will be due before they can be disbanded with safety to the country, will amount to five thousand pounds; and have made extreme hard shift to get them pay for themselves, and speedily to satisfy their quarters; which to do, we are neither able of ourselves, nor by

all the power of our friends; nor can this impoverished county help us. Therefore we do most humbly beseech the honourable house of commons to take speedy course to disband these forces, that they may never be trusted or employed again in the parliament's service; and that timely course may be taken for their moneys, otherwise we are liable to the like danger, they mainly insisting upon it to have their quarters paid, and they secured of their pay for the future.

For your further satisfaction herein, we have sent and employed the bearer, Mr. William Davies, one of the committee, and fellow-prisoner with us, to give you a more particular account thereof. And believe us, Mr. Speaker, notwithstanding all these unprecedented and inhuman sufferings and oppressions, we are no ways discouraged in our hearty affections to serve the parliament, to the shedding of the last drop of our blood; and do humbly remain

Your most humble servants,

Tho. Stanley.	Ph. Mainwaring.
John Legh.	Thomas Croxton.
Henry Birkened.	Jo. Wettenhall.
R. Leicester.	William Davies.
James Gartsyde.	

Chester,
July 3, 1647.

We make bold further to represent to your honours, that though there be a general imputation laid upon deputy-lieutenants and committees throughout

the kingdom, yet we can clear ourselves, that as yet we never received to ourselves the least satisfaction towards any of our charges we have been put unto in the state's service, nor ever received or intermeddled with any of the public moneys of the kingdom.

THE COMMITTEE AT CHESTER TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—We hope the members that serve for our county of Chester have before this time presented to the house the condition thereof, in respect of the soldiers' arrears belonging to Chester garrison, and the distempers and outrages committed and menaced upon this poor county, if present satisfaction were not provided for them; which, joined with the incapacity of the county to supply their demands, made us suspect that, which now the soldiers have accomplished, being at this instant in a general mutiny, and having (at a meeting of some of the deputy-lieutenants to consult thereupon) seized upon them, and taken them violently away to Chester, (where the infection is spread and broke out in about thirty houses,) and put them into prison near to the common prison of the town, called the Northgate, together with colonel Massey, the governor of the city, and a captain, with some of the committee and sequestrators and commissioners of excise, and still

are attempting the imprisonment of the rest of the gentlemen of the county, if there be not present payment made to them of four thousand pounds; for unto so much amounteth their arrears and present demands.

Sir, We know not how far this evil may proceed, nor how deeply the poor county may suffer, and therefore conceived it our duties (who are yet at liberty) to present this short account to your consideration; with our humble desire, that the house may be speedily acquainted therewith, and the advice thereof solicited, and with expedition sent us, what course it shall please them to prescribe us in this occasion; which shall be readily obeyed,

Sir,

By your most humble servants,

G. Booth.

E. Hyde.

Robt. Duckenfield.

July 3, 1647.

MAJOR-GENERAL POYNTZ TO THE SPEAKER.

Honourable Sir,—I have communicated your letter, the ordinances, and votes you sent me, to my officers, and they have made them known to most of their respective troops and companies; but there is such a distemper in several of the regiments, that we find no authority or power we have will recall them

into their former obedience. Their main desire is to associate their forces with his excellency's army, resolving to stand or fall with them in their just request, as they say; and to this purpose they have selected two out of every assenting troop or company, who now reside at Pontefract, advising and acting (with some come from the southern army) what they think fit in pursuance of their aforesaid end.

This day, five of their number, upon my engagement for their safe return, (which I was willing to do, both the better to know their intentions, and because the council of war did conceive it of dangerous consequence to apprehend them now,) did present unto the council of war a declaration, which they demanded to be immediately subscribed by some of the colonels present, or to receive their negative answer: upon which it was then resolved by the council of war, (whose advice therein was requested by the said colonels,) that they should suspend their answer till the return of the gentleman I lately sent to his excellency, to inform him of the men come hither from his army, (pretending by his authority,) and of your vote directing me to apprehend such as come hither to disturb this army.

What the issue of these things may be, I know not: I shall humbly desire the directions of the house herein.

Sir, Our forces here have observed that they have ever waited very long for whatsoever moneys the

house hath ordered them, and perhaps fear the like now, his excellency's army having received theirs. If the £10,000, lately ordered, could be presently procured, it might be a probable expedient to satisfy your soldiers in this distraction. Therefore my humble request is, you will be pleased to contribute your assistance for that purpose, and it shall add to my former engagements; and in all things, to my utmost power, shall be ready to manifest my fidelity to the parliament, and approve myself

Your most humble servant,

SEDENHAM POYNTZ.

York,
July 3, 1647.

THE COMMISSIONERS WITH THE KING TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—Yesterday, the king removed from Windsor to Caversham, where now he is. Dr. Sheldon and Dr. Hammond, and others in like condition, have the same liberty of access as they had before his majesty came to Windsor.

This is all the account we can give you; remaining

Your most humble servants,

HOLLAND.
JOHN COKE.
JO. CREWE.
RICHARD BROWNE.

Caversham,
July 4, 1647.

SIR THOMAS HOOGAN TO THE SPEAKER.

HONOURED SIR,—It is not long since I was at London, for the procuring of money for the garrison of Lynn Regis; and there being at that time many great affairs in agitation concerning the state, there could not meet together a committee of the eastern association: but at length, their leisure permitting them, they gave me an order to receive at Norwich, of Mr. John Cory, high collector for the county, £500; which, immediately at my coming home, I sent for, but could not receive, it being disbursed by him, and much more upon former orders. The soldiers in the garrison having intimation of it, ran into a mutiny on Friday last; saying, they would have all their pay to a day, declaring they would go to the army. I told them, I would procure them their whole pay to the last day, for those that would be gone. Then they cried, all would have it: so Mr. Mayor, together with myself, immediately procured them their money due since you gave me charge over them; and I told them that were the chief incendiaries, I would put no command on them for future, nor expect any duty from them that fall into such a posture: but on Monday following, they acknowledged their error, and humbled themselves; but I intend to rid the town of the chief of them, and question not but to find out in time the authors of this stir.

This I thought my duty to represent unto you; and shall ever rest,

Sir,

Your humble and faithful servant,

THO. HOOGAN.

Lynn Regis,
July 5, 1647.

THE COMMISSIONERS WITH THE ARMY TO THE SPEAKER.

HONOURABLE SIR,—We acquainted you by our last, that this morning, at seven of the clock, we were again to meet the commissioners of the army,[r] to make further proceedings on the treaty; in expectation whereof, we continued until past twelve of the clock this day, when we had notice given us by commissary-general Ireton, sir Hardresse Waller, and some other of the commission, that the business of the charge concerning the eleven members, and some other intervening occasions, had taken up so much of their time, that they could not possibly come to us sooner. But they assured us, that this afternoon, at two of the clock, they would give us a meeting; about which time they came accordingly: and, in the

[r] Fairfax had appointed Cromwell, Ireton, Fleetwood, colonels Rainsborough and Harrison, sir H. Waller, Rich, Lambert, Hammond, and major Rainsborough, or any five of them, to treat with the parliament's commissioners, upon the papers sent from the army to the parliament, and their votes. *Whitlocke, July* 2.

first place, propounded for our debate some things which they affirmed to be wanting in the late votes of the houses, in relation to the desires of the army sent from Uxbridge, 27 June, 1647; the result of which debate we send you here inclosed: whereby intimation is given unto us, that they have several things of weight to offer, very much conducing (as they say) to the preserving of the peace and safety of this kingdom: sir, unto which we replied, that if the things they had to offer were contained within the papers and desires of the army, to which our commission refers, we should then be ready to debate upon them, when they were communicated to us.

We are in continual expectation to hear what they have to offer to us thereupon, but it is so late at night that we cannot hope to come to any debate thereof until to-morrow morning, and therefore hold it our duty to give you this account for present; and so rest,

Sir,

Your most humble and faithful servants,

CH. SKIPPON.
THO. POVEY.
H. VANE.
WILL. WHITE.

Reading,
July 5, 1647,
at eleven at night.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

HONOURABLE SIR,—We have this day been in continual expectation to hear from the commissioners

of the army, what it is they have to offer unto us of weight, intimated by their paper sent up unto you last night. They have been in consultation amongst themselves all this day, and now they inform us by sir Hardresse Waller, that they find the matter now under their consideration of that difficulty, that they hold it necessary to consult the General and council of war before they present it to be debated on, and do intend to come to us again this night; but fearing it may be very late, we thought fit at present to give you this account; and rest,

Sir,

Your most humble and faithful servants,

H. Vane.
Ch. Skippon.
Will White.
Tho. Povey.

Reading,
July 6, 1647;
seven at night.

THE MAYOR OF LYNN REGIS TO THE SPEAKER.

Honourable Sir,—The misery of our town is grown unto such a height, and our soldiers for want of pay are grown so mutinous, as here will be no living for us, if a timely care be not presently had, either in settling of the establishment of the garrison, or a present disbanding of them; and to that end, I am much importuned by the inhabitants of our town, and necessitated by our mutinous soldiers, to send

Mr. Edward Robinson and Mr. Bartholomew Wormall, two of the aldermen of our town, to wait upon the honourable house with a petition of our grievances; which I humbly desire may be speedily read, and they heard on the behalf of our poor, sinking, dying town.

Sir, Our miseries come so fast upon us, as they will admit of no delay: therefore be pleased to move the house, that the soldiers henceforth may be constantly paid, or disbanded; for without the one, I cannot conceive but some sudden danger will befall us, which may endanger the whole association.

Sir, I am confident if the house would be pleased to order the disbanding, the town will be kept closer to the parliament by the townsmen themselves than by the soldiers; for the townsmen have heretofore engaged themselves, and their whole estates, by a former petition, to keep that town for king and parliament against all opposers.

Sir, There is no pay for our garrison, in the least; and our engagements and pressures are so great and many, as we cannot longer lie under them, without our utter undoing. Therefore I beseech you to take the sad condition of our poor town into your deep consideration, and to find out some help for our redress, either by constant paying, or sudden disbanding.

This is the humble request and desire of

Your humble servant,

Lynn Regis,
July 6, 1647.

THO. TOLL, Mayor.

THE ARMY COMMISSIONERS TO THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSIONERS.

By the last paper delivered unto us from your lordships at Reading, the 7th of July, we perceive you find that the expectation of the parliament and kingdom is great, upon the speedy progress and happy issue of this treaty. We answer, that we do really apprehend the same things with you; neither can we but witness that you have constantly attended the appointed times of meeting, and pressed despatch therein. Nevertheless, we cannot but be very sensible that you seem to reflect upon us further than there is just cause, in your taking notice that the proceedings should be slow on our parts; as if we should not seem to desire and labour the quick and speedy settlement of the affairs of the kingdom in a safe and well-grounded peace, as cordially as any persons whatsoever.

We shall therefore desire you to remember, with what forwardness we have, in the first place, presented to you those things which we did in our hearts conceive necessary in order to a treaty, and without which were granted, we could not, with safety to the kingdom and satisfaction to ourselves, proceed in treaty; and further pressed you to present them to the parliament with speed, that a quick despatch might be had therein; as being, in our thoughts, the chiefest and surest way to prevent the engaging this kingdom

in a second war; when, contrary to our expectation, we have found little effectually done, in relation to our desires, in those things most concerning the safety and peace of the kingdom.

To the end, therefore, we may acquit ourselves from being guilty of the delay you mention, and that it may appear to all men where the stick is, of not proceeding in the treaty to a settlement of the peace of the kingdom, so much thirsted after by us all, we thought fit to remind unto you these, the following proposals.

1. That there is nothing done with effect, notwithstanding the votes of the house, to the dispersing of the reformadoe officers, who still continue in and about London, ready to head forces, to the apparent hazard of a new war.

2. That notwithstanding the votes of the house for the speedy sending into Ireland, or disbanding those forces which left the army, and their special order to the committee at Derby house, to take speedy care therein, yet they are still continued in bodies in and about London, and, as we hear, are daily listing more forces, pretending the service of Ireland.

3. That notwithstanding the votes of the house of the 10th of June, and those since of the 5th July, for the present purging of the house, yet divers persons, comprised in those votes, continue still to sit there.

So long as we remain unsatisfied in the two first

of these particulars, we cannot be secured from those doubts we have expressed of the danger of a new war; especially if it be considered, that the end of inviting so many reformadoe officers to London, was to lay a foundation of a new war, and was principally carried on by the design of some of those members of the house of commons we have impeached. And likewise, that divers of the officers and soldiers which left the army, were procured by promises of pay and other encouragements, which were likewise designed by the same persons aforementioned, if possibly they might thereby have broken this army.

And for the last, what comfortable effect may we expect of a treaty, so long as the parliament (the supreme judicatory of the kingdom) is constituted of men, whereof some are of interests contrary to the common good thereof, from whom we can expect nothing, but banding and designing to obstruct and frustrate all proceedings contrary to their interest, though never so essential to the happy settlement of the kingdom? And if a seasonable remedy be not given herein, we despair of any good to the kingdom by way of treaty.

By the appointment of the commissioners for the army.

WILLIAM CLARKE, Secretary.

Reading,
July 7, 1647.

SIR H. CHOLMELEY TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—I am (I thank God) gotten well into Yorkshire, where the parliament hath now (I fear) far more enemies than friends, the country in general, looking upon sir Thomas Fairfax's army as that which they hope will bring them a sudden peace, (which they would willingly have upon any terms;) and major Lilburne hath so well agitated amongst the soldiery, that they (I mean the common soldiers) are just in the same cut with those in the south; and the bait of getting their arrears is so pleasing and acceptable, that I believe many officers connive at the business: and this day, the soldiers sent some troops to York, who have taken colonel Poyntz out of his house, and for his first lodging carry him to Pontefract castle, and whither after is not yet known to me.

As affairs now stand, I am sure it will concern both the parliament and army to make a speedy closure, both of the differences (if any yet be) betwixt them, and likewise of the settlement and peace of the kingdom; for otherwise (I fear) clubs and clouted shoes will in the end be too hard for them both.

Sir, If any occasion offer itself, I hope you will not forget to present my petition to the house; and you will thereby very much oblige,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

July 8, 1647. Henry Cholmeley.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

Mr. Speaker,—I have this day received a petition from the soldiery of the garrison of Southampton, representing their very sad condition, having been since the 25th March last without any pay, by reason of the excise of that garrison, formerly assigned to their maintenance, was then withdrawn, and no provision made for their arrears, though much was due. That they have no free quarter allowed them, no money to give further satisfaction, nor any credit for their present subsistence; so as they pretend they must speedily ruin, if not timely relieved; which they desire I should humbly present to you.

And indeed, sir, considering what a liberty many soldiers have of late taken to press upon the parliament, and I am persuaded the necessities of this garrison have not been inferior to any others, and yet they have not taken the like course to obtain your relief, I am therefore the more bold to tender them to your consideration, and presume to offer that if £500 might be forthwith ordered out of the excise of that garrison, (formerly engaged to them,) it might amount to near such an allowance that you are pleased to extend to most others now applying to you; and although that treasury should fall short of a present payment, yet an order would yield them some credit for their livelihood, till the house might

have leisure from their great affairs to make other provision for them. I remain

Your very affectionate friend and servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Reading,
July 8, 1647.

MR. COKER, SHERIFF OF DORSETSHIRE, TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—The evil we feared is now fallen upon us, and I conceive it my duty to expedite the information unto you by an express. An unhappy and unexpected disaster is fallen out, this last night, in our garrison: the extreme poverty and necessity of the soldiers, (contrary to mine, or any of their officers' knowledge or apprehension,) hunger breaking through stone walls, caused them mutinously to gather together; and the most part of them, armed, brake forth of the garrison, marched to Dorchester, and there very rudely seized on some of the gentlemen of the committee, forcing them out of the chamber, telling them they would carry them to the army, their masters. Myself being present, endeavoured by threats and persuasions to appease them; but, unless I would engage myself they should have their pay assured them, I could not prevail; which, to stop their violence, I was compelled to do; (but which

way to get money to make good my promise, God knows.)

They are still out of the garrison in a mutinous posture, with their arms; there is no way to quiet them but money: if I should go about any violent way by power to suppress them, (as sheriff of the county,) most of the county encourages them, so such as would stand by me are unable, for want of arms; so, should I go that way to work, I should be altogether destitute of any aid or assistance.

The care of the garrison, at present, is of that absolute necessity and importance, that I dare not leave it, for fear of foreign and domestic enemies; there being here but the last week, eight hundred French soldiers (designed, as they pretended) for Dunkirk, who assuredly would have been very glad to have taken this opportunity. It is the resolution of myself and the officers not to leave it, though to the hazard of our lives, without order from the parliament. The condition and necessity of the soldier have been often represented to the parliament by several humble petitions, and last of all by an express by major Heans, who is still negotiating in our behalf; from whom, as yet, we can hear no good news, or hopes of relief: it is therefore once more the most earnest and humble desire of myself and officers, that there be a present and speedy course taken to pay the poor hungry soldiers, that they may be enabled to do you faithful and cheerful service in the pre-

servation of this garrison, or else an absolute order to disband and dismantle, the which I humbly leave to your wisdom's grave and serious considerations; and rest,

Sir,

Your servant,

ROB. COKER.

Weymouth and Melcomb Regis,
July 8, 1647.

THE COMMISSIONERS WITH THE KING TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—Since our coming to Caversham, colonel Whalley receiving no orders from the General, we could not expect any fruit of our orders; yet we have renewed them unto him, requiring that he would remove Dr. Sheldon and Dr. Hammond from the king, together with such others as have access to his majesty contrary to the fifth article of our instructions.

His answer is, that he hath not as yet received any directions from his excellency, whose commands he must expect before he can yield obedience to us, for the reasons formerly given us at Hatfield,* which we related to you at large in a letter from thence, a copy whereof we have inclosed; for that colonel Whalley refers himself to what he then said, and the state of our condition having been thereby truly

* See before, p. 241.

represented unto you, it will appear that we are not in capacity of giving you other account; but remain,

Sir,

Your most humble servants,

HOLLAND.
JOHN COKE.
JO. CREWE.
RICHARD BROWNE.

Caversham,
July 9, 1647.

MAJOR-GENERAL POYNTZ TO THE SPEAKER.[1]

SIR,—On Thursday last I was apprehended by a party of the agitators which are in these parts, in my own house, and brought by force and set on horseback, without boots or shoes on my legs, and so my horse was led through the city of York, with a party before and behind with drawn swords and pistols; and when they came a mile out of York they stayed with me in a house until I received a pair of boots, and then they marched away with me to Pontefract town: and, upon my entreating to the agitators, colonel Offerton was sent for, to desire him to come to speak with me; and being come, upon his engagement and mine to them, that I

[1] The house ordered copies of this and the following letter to be sent to Fairfax, with directions for the discharge of Poyntz, or sending him up to London; and a letter ordered to the lord mayor of York, to discharge and restore his goods to him. *Whitlocke, June* 15.

should appear before them when they demanded me, I had leave to walk into the castle with colonel Offerton, who is pleased to use me with all civility, as also the agitators.

Now I hope the honourable house will not see me suffer for what I have done by your honour's orders: and if I have done any thing contrary to order, which I am certain cannot be made appear, I desire a fair trial before such justices as the honourable house shall think fit. My goods are all arrested in York by the agitators. I desire your honours will be pleased to give order that they be forced to come up to London, where I shall be ready to give an account of what can be demanded from me.

Sir, I sent a letter to you, dated the third of this instant, and I desired colonel Lionel Copley to present it to you. The contents of my letter was, that I desired to lay down my commission. If that letter be not presented, I desire that it may be called for, and notice taken of the date thereof. I also humbly desire, that the honourable house will be pleased to write to his excellency, that I may have leave to come to London, upon my engagement to appear where and when the honourable house shall please.

Leaving all these premises to the consideration of the honourable house, I remain

Your lordship's most humble and faithful servant,

Pontefract,
July 9, 1647.

SEDENHAM POYNTZ.

ELIZABETH POYNTZ TO THE SPEAKER.

Honourable Sir,—May it please you to receive and peruse a few lines from a disconsolate woman, a pilgrim and stranger in your kingdom, whose husband hath been a servant and soldier for the state, and always (so far as he knows) obedient to the command, and affected to the cause of the parliament; but now, by what authority or for what offence she knows not, he is become prisoner to his soldiers, and carried to Pontefract castle. He was fetched out of the city of York, out of his own house, by a party of horse; used somewhat contrary to the quality of a gentleman; but, I am sure, contrary to his fidelity to the parliament, and to the power and authority they had trusted him with; carried away in his slippers, not suffered to express any conjugal comfort or courtesy to me, his wife, at his departing: and what will be the doom they will pass on him, I cannot tell.

Besides, as his person, so his estate is under their command; his goods stopped by them, and seized upon in the carrier's hands, with command not to be removed till further order.

Sir, Hath my husband hazarded his life in winter sieges, in hot service, in desperate and dangerous battles, to be thus blasted and trampled upon? And must I, that came a wife and a gentlewoman into this kingdom, go a widow and a beggar? I hope the equity and mercy of the parliament, and of others

also, and the care of their honours in foreign kingdoms, will be such, as not to let my husband perish in the hand of them that hate him, for nothing but his reality and stability to the parliament in waiting their commands.

I beseech you, therefore, commiserate me, and communicate these to them that may relieve me; for here I live, mourning under the want of my husband, and the scorn and reproach of them towards whom my husband thought he carried himself with civility.

Sir, This is the petition of a poor sojourner, who shall wait, with prayers, what answer the honourable house shall return; for whom my husband now suffers bonds and imprisonment. Desiring you would not only pardon my boldness, but pity the sadness of her who relies upon your answer; and who is,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

ELIZABETH POYNTZ.

July 9, 1647.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX AND THE COUNCIL OF WAR TO THE SCOTCH COMMISSIONERS.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—I assure you that I never gave a warrant, since my coming last to the army, under my hand, for the stopping or apprehending all or any person carrying letters or intelligence; neither was there any command issued forth

by any, that I know of, to that purpose: and as for that particular of the packet going for Scotland, and seized of betwixt Huntingdon and Stilton, I knew nothing of it until I received the notice from the lords; neither were any such letters brought to my quarters, that I could hear of.

I should not have let such an offence pass by without making the actor in so foul a business an example. I shall be very careful, as much as in me lies, that none of the army shall offer any interruption to that intercourse between the kingdom of Scotland and their commissioners at London; and should be very loath to be an occasion of a breach of that good correspondency between the two nations.

In my letter to the house of peers, of the 29th of June last, I gave the same account that I do now; and withal did further acquaint them of a bundle of papers, sealed up, without any superscription, which were stopped by the guard at Ware, and brought to the head quarter; but the messenger (though he was found in several stories) was notwithstanding permitted to go with the same papers to Royston or Newmarket, according to a pass which he had from major-general Webb.

By the appointment of his excellency and the council of war.

Jo. Rushworth.

Reading,
July 10, 1647.

Since the writing hereof, I understand, by one of the army, that he had heard of such a thing as the seizing letters about Huntingdon, when he was in those parts; but by whom, and the particulars of that business, he can give no account. I shall put it into a speedy way of further inquiry.

SIR WALTER STRICKLAND TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—The French ambassadors have now accepted the league guarantee, so long in debate betwixt the States and the French ambassadors; by which, it seems, both the French and the States will make peace with Spain; for this guarantee is nothing but a treaty betwixt France and the States, that if the king of Spain shall invade either France or the States, for any thing they are to possess by the peace, they are both to declare war against Spain. The particulars are more clearly set down in this Dutch printed paper here inclosed: for though it be not printed by public authority, yet it is a true draft of the guarantee, which hath been the most considerable thing the States and the French ambassador have been about these six months; and therefore I thought it worthy of the knowledge of the house, and that so much the rather, as it doth in effect comprehend the general peace, for all else is virtually in this.

The emperor and the Swedes are in the same readiness at Munster, as I am informed, so as nothing but formalities remain to be transacted there; which may take up some few months, and then I believe the general peace will be proclaimed.

We hear that propositions of peace are sending by the parliament to the king: if that be so, I shall humbly offer it to the house's consideration, whether it will not be necessary that one proposition be, that no treaty of peace or war be made with any foreign state but by consent of parliament: for the subject is so nearly concerned in this, that it concerns the property of his goods, which are, in a good measure, in foreign parts in respect of trade, which are subject to be confiscated by that state, when they are upon declaring war against it by the king, without the subjects' fault or privity; as likewise, to have their ships taken by letters of reprisal; and, which is most of all, the whole kingdom to be invaded by such declarations, that it hath been usually exercised without the subjects' consent.

It is very requisite that all ministers employed in foreign parts should give account to the parliament, and, in the interval of parliaments, to those authorized by them, of what they transact abroad; that so the honour of the parliament, as well as the safety of the people, might be maintained abroad: whereas the contrary is now practised by all that have been sent abroad; who traduce the state, and

those that sit at the helm, by publishing declarations by which they are criminalized and made traitors; copies of which I have formerly sent to the house.

Sir, I think now that this negotiation betwixt the States and French is in a manner ended, and the summer near spent, so as the season will not be likely to allow them to do much. I should humbly entreat the house to give me leave to come over, being ready to return again whenever they please to command me, having nothing in my thoughts but their service, which I shall be ready to express by all the duty and obedience which the most perfect and faithful lover of his country can perform. If you please to make this my humble suit known to the house, and let me know their resolution, whatever it be my submission shall witness. I own no desires of my own longer than they please to allow me, who am only happier in being theirs; and in that right, more than any else, hope to be reputed by you,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

WALTER STRICKLAND.

Hagh,
July $\frac{25}{15}$, 1647.

THE COMMISSIONERS WITH THE ARMY TO THE SPEAKER.

HONOURABLE SIR,—We have forborne these two or three days to write unto you, in expectation to

have received from the commissioners of the army their resolutions concerning the proceeding on in the treaty, which we have not been wanting daily to press; and have had word sent unto us late this evening, that we shall have their answer sometime to-morrow.

We find, by what hath passed between them and us, they conceive that very little of their desires sent from Uxbridge, as preparatory to the treaty, have been as yet effectually granted. The true state of the proceeding of the houses, in reference thereunto, we have endeavoured to clear; and intend, upon what we shall receive to-morrow, to give you a further account.

We are informed, that major-general Poyntz is come with a guard to the head quarter; the certainty whereof we shall inquire to-morrow. This being all at present, we rest,

Sir,

Your very humble and faithful servants,

Ch. Skippon.
Tho. Widdrington.
H. Vane.
Tho. Povey.
Will. White.

Reading,
July 15, 1647;
12 at night.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

HONOURABLE SIR,—By our last, of the 15th instant, we made bold to acquaint you, that having daily pressed the proceeding on in the treaty, we had word sent unto us late that evening, that we should receive their answer some time the next day; and now late this evening, commissary-general Ireton, and several other officers of the army, came and acquainted us, that the General and officers took notice of a vote passed in the house yesterday, concerning the putting of all the land forces, now in the parliament's pay, under the immediate command of sir Thomas Fairfax,[u] which is looked upon by them as an expression of great trust which the house is pleased to repose in the army; and hoped it would lay the foundation of further confidence, and of that which will tend to the security and peace of the kingdom: and that, for the present, it had occasioned some alteration in a paper they intended for us this night; and withal told us, that the proposals which they were preparing for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom had been much interrupted by their long sittings in the council of war for these two days last past, upon the consideration of several things thought necessary for present security, some particulars thereof not being yet cleared; but further acquainted us, that most of the heads of those proposals were written,

[u] See Journals of the Commons, July 17.

but neither agreed on nor amplified, as was necessary, and as they intended. They read these heads unto us, to let us see what progress they had made, and that their thoughts had been intent upon the general settlement of the peace of the kingdom, and said they hoped within five or six days to have them in readiness to be delivered unto us.

In the mean time, we thought it our duty to give you this account. We rest,

Sir,

Your very humble and faithful servants,

CH. SKIPPON.
THO. WIDDRINGTON.
WILL. WHITE.
H. VANE.
THO. POVEY.

Reading,
July 18, 1647;
past 12 at night.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—Before I received your letter, I had set colonel-general Poyntz at liberty, and also granted him a pass, and an order for the restoring unto him his goods that were seized upon, to be brought up to London.

Since the receipt of your letter, his own soldiers have brought in a charge against him, notwith-

standing I have told him, if he pleased, he was at liberty to go to London or elsewhere.

If it be desired by him any prosecution should be made upon that charge, (which, in regard it hath some relation to my own particular, I am willing to pass by,) the persons who have preferred the same are ready to bring in their proofs concerning the matter alleged against him. I remain

Your humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Reading,
July 20, 1647.

SIR WALTER STRICKLAND TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—I shall now give you and the parliament the last account of the league guarantee betwixt the French and the States. It was this week subscribed by both the French ambassadors, monsieurs Servient and la Tuillerie, and by the States, so as monsieur Servient hath taken his leave of the States, and is returning to Munster, there to join with the States' ambassadors, who are to follow to conclude the general peace, which is in a manner done already; for the States' ambassadors and the Spanish have long since signed the most of the articles with Spain, which France had no way to hinder from being completed, but by entertaining the States these six

months, as he hath done with this new treaty of mutual securing each other to enjoy what should be granted them by Spain by the intended peace: and this was in a manner a supersedeas to the treaty at Munster for that time; for, in effect, all was stayed there, till this was negotiated here. The ministers of France hoped to have drawn the States from their resolution to make peace with Spain, both by alleging an engagement of the States, by former treaties, not to do it without France, and other reasons of state; but the prevailing opinion here hath been carried to the contrary.

What this league guarantee is, the paper I inclosed in my last letter did fully inform you, for it is the substance, and, I think, the words of the agreement; so as now, in all probability, the general peace will proceed in as short a time as the ceremonies of things of that nature will allow, which men think may be two months.

It is said, the king of Spain will never consent to the Portugal king being comprised in the treaty: and the French ambassadors say, the king of France will assist the king of Portugal, so as it is like the French, though they make peace with Spain, will yet reserve that back door to keep the Spaniard in trouble, by supplying that king against Spain. The States would not be persuaded by France to include the interest of the king of Portugal in their treaty, though France endeavoured it, for Portugal hath done

them much hurt in Brazil; though the French ambassador offers to procure them satisfaction, if they will accept it by his mediation: but this making peace, will make the States abler to send such a powerful army, as they may gain their own with interest.

Sir, Men well affected to the parliament have advertised me, from several places, that they observe that great numbers of malignants, who were retired into these countries, have of late embarked themselves in Holland and Zealand for England, so as we are much afraid they have some design in London, or other parts, to begin new troubles. For they are as full as ever of malice, and desperate resolutions against the parliament, and hope, by troubling the waters, to recover from their disease. But I hope in God the same providence, which hath so clearly appeared in blessing and owning the endeavours of those who are faithful, will put it into the mind of the city, by the advice of the parliament, to cast out of the way all these birds who would destroy the nest.

Sir, I am persuaded no great matter that concerns the public will be negotiated at the Hague for some months, this being ended of the guarantee; so as, in my judgment, I could do better service to the public to come home and receive the commands of the house, and then return when they were fitter than now they are for businesses abroad. This was my

humble suit in my last, and is seconded by this; which if you please, in my behalf, to offer to the house, you will oblige me, and do it for one who is a real servant to the parliament and yourself; being,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

WALTER STRICKLAND.

Hague, $\frac{\text{Aug. 1,}}{\text{July 21,}}$ 1647.

We hear the Lutherans and Calvinists are agreed to hold together, and to be both equally comprehended in the peace of Munster, of which men are very glad here.

MAJOR-GENERAL SKIPPON TO THE SPEAKER.

WORTHILY HONOURED SIR,—It is not unknown to you, by the letter I presumed to send to you from Newcastle, how unwilling I was from the beginning to engage myself personally for the service of Ireland, and what reasons I gave therefore, as also what single consideration moved me to accept thereof; (viz.) that it was alleged that my going would carry a great part of the army with me; and my not going would withhold them from going thither; and so I must have been reputed the alone obstructer and prejudicer of that service: which then prevailing consideration being since removed, I humbly

crave leave hereby to let you know, that although I most thankfully acknowledge the favour of this honourable house therein towards me, yet my former purposes and desires to decline that service, upon my forementioned reasons, (and divers others,) which, if required, I shall declare, are more earnest than ever, it being a service every way so unfit for me, and for which I am so unfit: therefore my most humble suit to this honourable house is, that I may be freed from that employment; being not only willing, but desirous to lay down the same, and content rather submissively to suffer what it shall please the parliament to impose upon me for my humble refusing thereof, than to go on therein.

And that it may plainly appear I aim at no self-advantage any other way, I shall most readily lay down all my other employments at the parliament's feet, (if they so command;) and either betake myself to a private life, upon my own poor means in England, or, with the parliament's leave, seek an abiding place in some other country beyond the seas.

Thus much I hold myself bound to acquaint you with, which I beseech you seasonably to make known to the honourable house, as also my most humble and earnest suit herein; which I desire as unfeignedly as I can do any thing at the hand of man.

And, good sir, be pleased so far to stand my friend, as to help what you can to take me off from that service, it being the greatest favour I have to

importune you for, and whereby you will (more than I can express) engage,

Sir,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

CH. SKIPPON

Reading,
July 21, 1647.

THE COMMISSIONERS WITH THE KING TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—His majesty's remove from hence was in discourse yesterday, but this morning he hath fully resolved to go towards Wooburn, a house of the earl of Bedford's, to-morrow, where he will be upon Friday, intending to take up his quarters at Latimer's for that night which he must lodge by the way.

Hereof we thought it our duty to give you this account; and of ourselves, that we are in the same condition which our former letters expressed; and remain

Your most humble servants,

HOLLAND.
JOHN COKE.
JO. CREWE.
RICHARD BROWNE.

Caversham,
July 21, 1647.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

Mr. Speaker,—Understanding the small force is left in Windsor castle, and considering the consequence of that place, and the hazarding may be by the army's removal so far remote, I have thought fit to send a hundred commanded men for the more security of that place, which I thought it my duty to acquaint you withal; and further, to desire you that you will please to move the house for some pay for that garrison, which, as I understand, is above a twelvemonth in arrear, and since March last hath not received one penny.

Desiring your effectual recommendation herein, I remain

Your very affectionate friend and servant,

T. Fairfax.

Aylesbury,
July 23, 1647.

THE COMMISSIONERS WITH THE ARMY TO THE SPEAKER.

Honourable Sir,—Yesterday the head quarters were removed unto this place, and are to-morrow to be at Bedford. Since our last despatch unto you, we have observed that the army hath been in very frequent consultations about the expediting the particulars which they have to propound in reference to

a general settlement, and therein (as we hear) have made some progress. But since their coming to this town, they have received information (which they give good credit unto) of some dangerous contrivance set on foot in the city of London, under pretence of a petition, and solemn engagements [x] of the citizens, commanders, officers, and soldiers of the trained bands and auxiliaries, young men and apprentices of London and Westminster, sea commanders, seamen, and watermen, together with divers other commanders, officers, and soldiers, within the line of communication, tending very much, as is conceived by the army, to the kindling of a new war; and thereupon they have thought fit to deliver in one paper unto us, and another to the committee of the common council residing here; the copies of both which, together with the petition and engagement itself, and the information they have received in the same, we held our duty immediately to send unto you, being

[x] "A petition and engagement of dangerous consequence of divers officers, citizens, watermen, and seamen, was brought to the house; and they referred it to a committee, to find out the authors; and a declaration to be drawn up against it." *Whitlocke, July* 22. The purport of the engagement was, that the parties to it would, to their utmost, endeavour that the king should come to his parliament in honour, safety, and freedom, without the nearer approach of the army, there to confirm such things as he had granted by his message of the 12th of May; and, by a personal treaty, settle such things as were yet in difference. See *Godwin*, b. ii. c. x. *Journals of Commons, July* 22, 23.

very apprehensive of the ill effects that things of this nature may produce in the minds of the army, if not timely prevented and remedied by the wisdom of parliament. Of this, the committee of the common council residing here are so sensible, that they are gone up with all speed to London, to give the city a clear representation of these affairs, and what operation it is like to have here.

We have this morning received the votes that passed the house yesterday, in answer to the desires of the army sent up by Sir Thomas Widdrington, which we have communicated unto the General and officers of the army, who thereby have received great satisfaction; at the same time we propounded to them, to take into their speedy considerations the relief of Ireland, which they have promised to do; and are in expectation of the concurrence of the lords to the votes yesterday passed the house. We are,

Sir,

Your very humble and faithful servants,

CH. SKIPPON.
WILL WHITE.
H. VANE.
THO. POVEY.

Aylesbury,
July 23, 1647;
nine at night.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

HONOURABLE SIR,—We came last night to Bedford, where sir John Temple met us with your com-

mands; which we, with him, immediately communicate to the General, and desired that we might have meeting on Monday morning, to consider of th speedy relief of Ireland. Unto this the General an officers expressed much forwardness, and promised t debate it with us to-morrow morning, of which w shall give you a speedy account.

This day we received the declaration of both houses against the late petition and engagement, a also the ordinance for change of the militia[y] in the city of London; with an additional power from both houses to ourselves, concerning the garrison and forces of England and relief of Ireland: with all which we acquainted the General; and late this morning have had notice given us by lieutenant-general Cromwell, sir Hardresse Waller, colonel Hammond, and colonel Rich, in the name of his excellency, of the good resentment which the General and officers had of what the houses have been pleased to do in satisfaction of their last desires, and in particular of the sense which the parliament hath expressed against the late petition and engagement, together with the owning of the army; in all which they declare themselves to have received much satisfaction. And because they observe the expectation of the parliament

[y] An ordinance had just passed the houses, for putting the militia of London into the hands of the old commissioners: this gave great offence to the citizens, who petitioned for the repeal of the ordinance. See *Whitlocke, July* 23, 26.

is very great, upon a speedy relief to be sent for Ireland, and the sudden despatch of their remaining desires, in order to a general settlement, they did further acquaint us from the General, that, as to the first of these, they will be ready to-morrow to consider with us about it, and endeavour to promote that service to the utmost of their power; and to the latter, that they do believe they shall be ready to deliver them unto us by Wednesday or Thursday next, or sooner if they can, and to treat upon the same with us.

In the commands which we have received from you concerning the forces and garrisons of this kingdom, we conceive the assistance of Mr. Scawen (if his attendance in the house may be dispensed withal) will be very necessary; and so we rest,

Sir,

Your most humble and faithful servants,

CH. SKIPPON.
WILL. WHITE.
H. VANE.
THO. POVEY.

Bedford,
July 25, 1647;
12 at night.

MR. ARTHUR ANNESLEY[1] TO THE SPEAKER.

HONOURABLE SIR,—This afternoon, the lord of Ormond hath delivered to us the sword and other

[1] One of the parliamentary commissioners in Ireland.

ensigns of royalty, and is now going aboard captain Wood's ship; by whom, for want of time, we cannot give you a full account of the state of these parts. But he, being a man that hath been very faithful in your service, will give you information of what of the present condition of affairs here comes under common observation, if you admit him to it.

We intend (as esteeming it of necessity) that the army march within two or three days for relief of Trim,[a] which the rebels' army came before on Monday last.

Your honour's most humble servant,

ARTHUR ANNESLEY.

Dublin,
July 28, 1647.

THE COMMISSIONERS OF DUBLIN TO THE SPEAKER.

HONOURABLE SIR,—We understand the house hath been pleased to order our stay here till the first of September, contrary to the licence we brought with us, when we engaged in this service; and therefore we think fit to represent to you, that our own affairs necessarily requiring our being there, we made

[a] Colonel Jones almost immediately marched his forces to the relief of Trim, and totally defeated Preston, who was besieging it. See *Whitlocke, August* 13.

known to the committee at Derby house, in writing, that we could not make any longer stay here, than till the transactions with the lord of Ormond were finished, and therefore desired that some others might be employed in this service. The committee, notwithstanding, thinking it requisite that we should for the present come, gave us full power (by instruction under their hands) to return when we pleased, after the agreement with the lord of Ormond was finished, which hath been protracted beyond our expectation; so that we conceive ourselves to be at full liberty to return, unless we have by our willingness, at your command, to serve the public, lost the liberty of free-born subjects.

We must, therefore, humbly desire you, if you think it necessary to have the commissioners here, to name some others, since we cannot make any longer stay; or that you make the quorum to consist of three, there being so many here upon the place besides us; or that you hasten colonel Birch or colonel Sydney, who are in commission, if you think not fit to use a lesser quorum than four; though, to deal clearly with you, we think good commanders much more necessary to be sent, than commissioners to be continued, the name whereof is odious to the soldiers: and colonel Jones, on whom lies the care of these parts, is so often in danger himself, by freely engaging for advancement of the service, that even by the loss of him, (which God forbid,) ruin may be apprehended, if

some able commanders arrive not for his assistanc
and to succeed him, if need be. And, therefore, w
shall humbly crave pardon, if we make use of th
liberty of returning, which we brought with us, an
without which we had not entered upon this service

Your most humble servants,

ARTHUR ANNESLEY.

Dublin,
July 28, 1647. ROB. KING.

The lord of Ormond left the sword this day, an
went to sea towards Bristol. Trim being besiege
by Preston's army, it will be necessary all the forc
we can make march speedily to their relief; thoug
we must say, the whole kingdom lies at stake in th
success thereof.

THE COMMISSIONERS WITH THE ARMY TO THE SPEAKER.

HONOURABLE SIR,—We acquainted you by ou
last, that we were to meet with the commissioners o
the army about the relief of Ireland, in pursuance o
your commands received by sir John Temple. W
met accordingly, on Monday last; and after a seriou
debate thereupon, we thought fit to deliver in to th
commissioners of the army a paper containing th
result of our desires upon that debate had with them
the copy of which paper we send you here inclosed
At this meeting, the commissioners of the army

shewed very great affection for the expediting relief to Ireland, as we desired, and promised to give us their particular answer in writing very speedily. But the unexpected news of Monday's[b] work at the houses, and the several rumours that hourly follow thereupon, have so altered the frame of things here, that as yet we cannot receive their answer as we expected.

We find them now upon new counsels, having ordered the contracting of their quarters in relation to their march toward London: this day the head quarter removes to Leighton Buzzard, and (as we hear) some of the army are to be to-morrow night at Uxbridge or Colnbrook.

Sir John Temple going by coach, we thought fit to send this express for the more speed. And so we rest,

Sir,

Your most humble and faithful servants,

CH. SKIPPON.
T. WIDDRINGTON.
ROB. SCAWEN.
H. VANE.
THO. POVEY.
WILL. WHITE.

Bedford,
July 29, 1647.

[b] On the preceding Monday, July 26, a great number of young men and apprentices of London had gone in a tumultuous way to the house, and demanded, that the ordinance for change of the militia be repealed; that the city be vindicated against the declaration that had passed both houses condemnatory of the afore-mentioned petition and engagement; and that the

COLONEL RALPH WELDON TO THE SPEAKER.

Mr. Speaker,—I have twice formerly wrote unto you concerning the necessities of this garrison; I have likewise wrote unto the honourable committee of lords and commons of the west; and the officers of the garrison have, in most humble manner, one month since, sent up the major of the regiment to represent their great necessities, which are now grown intolerable, and cannot be longer borne.

And, sir, I cannot tell whether the honourable houses have been made acquainted with my letters; because the major gives intelligence, that the honourable houses have not heard the petition read as yet. So, sir, that I have now no way left, but in most humble manner to lay down the command of this garrison of Plymouth to the honourable houses of parliament, who were pleased to bestow it on me without my knowledge; which I must ever, with all humble thankfulness, acknowledge. And, sir, I humbly desire the honourable houses will be pleased to take knowledge, that whosoever they shall send to take charge of this command, if he bring money, will be very welcome to the poor people and soldiery; but if otherwise, I am confident it will be very dangerous for any one to undertake the command; and likewise for myself, that am to leave it, who, I

eleven members might be called into the house. See *Whitlocke, July* 26.

am verily persuaded, shall neither get off with a whole skin, nor a rag to my back.

Mr. Speaker, I humbly desire this my resignation by letter to you may be speedily read in the house: and, for fear it should not, I have given the city, the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, notice of this my humble resignation, as likewise to the honourable committee of lords and commons for the west; that all may be satisfied, that whatever happens it is by no default of mine. And truly, sir, the necessities are so great, that I every hour look for some sad accident; and pray the Lord it may not be before the return of the post.

Sir, Necessity hath enforced me to do this, which I do with all humble reverence to the honourable houses; and present myself,

Sir,

Your very humble servant,

RALPH WELDON.

Plymouth,
July 30, 1647.

SIR SAMUEL LUKE[c] TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—Having leave from the house to be absent upon my occasions, the army being here, I shewed no countenance to their actions; and had not my wife been so frighted by them, that I could not in conscience leave her, I should have returned to my

[c] Member of parliament for Bedford.

duty: but her illness keeping me here, I was this day seized by forty soldiers, and carried away from my house, having scarce time allowed me to write this, and to let you know no force shall make me change my duty to the parliament, nor my affection to my country; but I shall ever remain

Your most humble servant,

SAM. LUKE.

August 1, 1647.

COLONEL RALPH WELDON TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—Since my last to you by the post, that which I then doubted hath since been really acted; which is, that the soldiers, who were to relieve the guard, came to the parade on Saturday morning last, but absolutely refused to go upon duty, and would also forcibly have carried away their colours; among whom I resolved to make some examples, but well viewing them, famine seemed to appear in most of their faces. They were backed by multitudes of women of the poorer sort, who protested that they also were ready to starve, for want of that which the soldiers was indebted unto them, upon which grounds I forebore to proceed against them; and to allay this mutiny, I was enforced to take five hundred pounds out of the custom house for their present supply with bread. By this means, sir, the soldiers have so lost all obedience; and there-

fore I see an utter impossibility in me to do the state that service here which I am engaged unto; and shall, for that cause, humbly desire you to communicate this business unto the honourable houses of parliament, and also to promote unto them the resignation of this my command, as I last made bold to write to you of.

There is such a necessity, as enforces the soldiers and poor, to whom they are indebted, to steal or starve; and, if a proportionable sum for their satisfaction be not speedily sent, I am afraid there will be such mutinies as I shall not be able to keep any command; which will be to the great hazard of this garrison, my life, honour, and all I have here. And, not having further to trouble you with at present, subscribe myself,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

RALPH WELDON.

Plymouth,
August 2, 1647.

Sir, I humbly desire that the two houses of parliament may be forthwith acquainted with our necessities.

COLONEL RALPH WELDON TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—I have often made the honourable house of commons acquainted with the sad condition this gar-

rison is in, but could never get any answer. By the last, I sent up my humble surrender of the command, knowing myself utterly unable to do them any service here. Since, by a mutiny, I have been twice endangered; whereupon I sent an express to the houses of parliament, to give them notice in what danger the town is in. And, sir, I am in a most sad condition. I desire humbly to be taken off from the command: but unless the garrison be paid, I shall never be permitted to come away; and staying here without pay, I run the hazard of every day being mischiefed.

I have a long time given the parliament notice of what is now come to pass, by letters to the committee of lords and commons for the safety of Plymouth, and likewise to the speaker; and now, sir, the mayor, whom I have employed, gives me notice, that he hath an order to receive £4000 out of the excise and customs of Plymouth, wherein there is not one penny left, I being forced to take out of the custom house five hundred pounds, and out of the excise office one hundred and twenty-seven pounds, to appease the mutiny; and I am confident there is not one penny to be procured on the security, £6000 *per mensem*. So that, sir, you see the extreme hard condition I am left in.

Sir, It is my humble suit, that the honourable houses of parliament will, with their best conveniency, take me off with honour, as shall seem best to their

wisdoms, that I may not perish in this unhappy condition; and I shall be engaged, as I have ever been, for ever to remain

Their most faithful and humble servant,

RALPH WELDON.

Plymouth,
August 6, 1647.

THE BISHOP OF OXFORD[d] TO DR. SHELDON.

REV. SIR,—Your letter of the 4th of this present August came to my hand this very day; and to the questions propounded, I have subscribed my opinion in simplicity of heart, and *plena fide*, to the best of my understanding: and "by extreme necessity," &c., I understand, that necessity or exigence which I conceive our gracious sovereign now stands under, for the safety of his crown and dignity, and for the settling of peace, and preserving of the true religion established by law. For these ends, in such a strait, such a toleration is, in my judgment, not only lawful but expedient.[e]

[d] Robert Skinner.

[e] The Independent party, who now prevailed, drew up certain proposals for peace, which were first privately, and afterwards publicly submitted to the king for his approval. Amongst other things, toleration in religion was insisted on; and that all coercive power in bishops and other ecclesiastical officers, extending to civil penalties, was to be taken away. The above letter alludes to this point, as appears from the ques-

This is the clear opinion of your obliged friend and servant,

Ro. Oxon.

August 7, 1647.
(Launton.)

I wrote lately to you about the headship of Gloucester hall, and signified (which is most evident) that it was originally part of the endowment of the bishopric of Oxford, and that the dean of the chapel, having perused my writings, did assure me, he would endeavour his best with his majesty that I might have it for my accommodation, in case the principal died; and this was before my house was burnt, *fac quod expedit.*

SIR ROBERT MEREDITH[f] [TO THE COMMITTEE AT DERBY HOUSE.]

May it please your Lordships,—I make no doubt but you have fully and particularly understood of the instant necessities and sad condition of this place, by Mr. Annesley and sir Robert King, and have already thereupon taken some fitting course for the speedy supplies and relief thereof. I shall hereby humbly acquaint you, that in these greatest straits, our want of money to pay the soldier, and the daily increasing of the numbers and outrages of the rebels,

tion propounded at length in a subsequent letter, p. 334. See *Godwin*, b. ii. c. 11.

[f] One of the commissioners in Ireland.

having burnt and pillaged round about this city even to the very works thereof, it hath pleased God, of his infinite mercy, upon colonel Jones's being abroad, with all the forces could be drawn out from hence, the other garrisons, and the north of this kingdom, for the relief of Trim, to give us the greatest signal victory against the rebels that hath been obtained in this kingdom: wherein were slain of the rebels, as I understand, five thousand upon the place; the earl of Westmeath, and some scores of their chiefest commanders, taken prisoners; with the total loss of their artillery and baggage: the particulars your lordships will speedily receive by a person of credit, employed expressly in that behalf. Only I most humbly beseech your lordships, as becomes me, having adventured my life in your service by my stay here, notwithstanding the power of the cruel rebel, and the discontent of the unpaid soldier; I say, I most humbly beseech your lordships, that the fruits of this so great a victory be not disadvantaged, or lost, through want of having sufficient moneys, in reasonable time, to pay the soldiers, and keep them abroad in pursuance thereof, and in prevention of the rebels' recruiting, which I shall not need further to press upon your lordships: hereupon depending the preservation of this place, the prosecution of the victory, and the life of

Your lordships' most faithful and humble servant,

ROB. MEREDITH.

Dublin,
August 11, 1647.

DR. J. BARWICK TO DR. SHELDON.

Sir,—Having so convenient an opportunity of sending the inclosed, I could not but (under so good a shelter) take the boldness of presenting my most humble thanks for your favours to me at court. I was with my lord of Ely [g] on Saturday last, and left in his hand a copy of the question, that he might have the more time to consider of it; but I told him, withal, of your intention to write to him, which (I suppose) he expects before he returns any resolution.

I took occasion likewise to acquaint his lordship with that friendly proffer which you were pleased to make: he pressed me very hard to know who that friend was; which I told him I had promised not to discover without leave, but that the likeliest way to know it, was to make use of his proffered favour. He returns you most hearty thanks; and hath commanded me to beg leave to inform him, who such a rare friend may be; and that if he may know it, you should be the first that he would make use of: which now he knows not how soon he shall be compelled to do; for I perceive by him that his purse is almost at the low ebb; the tower fees [h] and eight children (most of

[g] Matthew Wren. See note *e*, p. 329.

[h] The bishop of Ely had, as early as 1640, been voted by the commons "unworthy and unfit to hold or exercise any office or dignity in church or commonwealth." He was at that time "committed to the tower, and by few pitied." See *Whitlocke, July* 5, 1640.

them young) are a sufficient argument to evince such a conclusion.

My own lord and master is busy about the question: but his ordinary style in controversies will not yet give him leave to descend to the brevity of a casuist. I have used my best endeavours to bring him to a brief and positive resolution. I know not what my lord of Exon[1] did write, but I cannot persuade him to the contrary, but that he will be giving reasons, which (as far as I understood when I was with you) was not required.

Sir, If my lord of Exon comes to my lord primate, I could very much wish it that he would come hither also; if not, then that he would write two words to supply what he omitted in the former letter concerning the brevity and positiveness of the resolution; and if his lordship please to explain the terms that by "any exigence," &c., is meant the greatest, and by "other religion," &c., is meant any branch of Christian religion that maintains the foundation of faith, and is not destructive of good manners.

I conceive my lord's resolution will not be much different from what I suppose yours was, and the sooner this can be done the better, unless his majesty draws nearer to us: which, I am confident, would be a motive to my lord to come and present his duty; and the rather, that he might be fully informed by you and the rest who have discussed the question.

[1] Ralph Brownrigg.

Sir, You see how bold I make with you: I beseech you, keep it to yourself; and if my lord of Exon writes again, let him not know or take notice of any thing that I now (thus freely) write to you.

My lord commends his most hearty respects to you and the rest of your brethren there: pardon, I beseech you, this my freedom and boldness; and when you shall have occasion to make use of my service in any thing, you cannot do me a greater favour than freely to command,

Sir,

Your most devoted and humble servant,

J. Barwick.[k]

THE ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH TO DR. SHELDON.

Question.—Whether, upon any necessity or exigence of state, it be lawful for a Christian prince, besides the religion established, so to tolerate the exercise of other religions in his kingdom, as to oblige himself not to punish any subject for the exercise of any of them?

Answer.—That, although every Christian prince be obliged, by all just and Christian ways, to maintain and promote, to his power, the Christian religion in

[k] Chaplain to the bishop of Durham, afterwards dean of St. Paul's.

the truth and purity of it; yet in case of such exigence and concernment of church and state, as that they cannot, in human reason, probably be preserved otherwise, we cannot say that in conscience it is unlawful, but that a Christian prince hath, in such exigents, a latitude allowed him, the bounding whereof is by God left to him.

JA. ARMACHANUS.[1]

Oatlands,
August 16, 1647.

THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO DR. SHELDON.

Question.—Whether, upon any necessity or exigence of state, it be lawful for a Christian prince, besides the religion established, so to tolerate the exercise of other religions in his dominions, as to oblige himself not to punish any subject for the exercise of any of them?

In a soul's case, especially concerning my most gracious sovereign, I dare not so far precipitate as not to ponder the ambiguity of the terms propounded, viz. "other religions," "oblige," and "necessity;" because there are some other religions which consist of principles destructive to the state politic, and which patronise the freedom and toleration of all other religions, albeit they ruinate the fundamental

[1] James Usher.

doctrines of faith, to the confusion of all. There is also an obligation, or paction, which implieth a perpetuity thereof, notwithstanding there be just cause to the contrary. And, lastly, there is a kind of necessity which is not absolute.

Resolution.—Wherefore an obligatory toleration of any such destructive religion, without an absolute necessity, (as when the professors of that religion can and will authorize themselves, without any toleration of state,) cannot in conscience be held tolerable.

THO. DURESME.[m]

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

REVEREND SIR AND TRULY BELOVED,—I do heartily congratulate your happiness, that you are so much in the eye of his most sacred majesty; for whose happiness and prosperity we, above all mortals, are bound to pray, and to bless God for his religious heart.

Sir, If I have not used the very same form and tenor of resolution with some others, I hope his majesty will interpret the cause to be by reason of my absence, and (thereby) want of the influence of his majesty's wisdom concerning all circumstances, which of myself I could not be capable of.

I desire, which I shall ever most desire, the re-

[m] Thomas Moreton.

membrance of my most humble devotion to my most gracious sovereign. And so commending yourself to the protection of the Almighty, and to the glory of his saving grace in Christ Jesus, I rest

Your very loving friend and fellow-chaplain,

THO. DURESME.

The bearer hereof will shew that it was not negligence, (God forbid,) but duty that made me forbear my answer till now, that I might send it by a safe hand.

THE COMMISSIONERS OF SCOTLAND TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—We cannot but with great sense of these many injuries we suffer daily, acquaint you therewith as they fall out. Not long ago we made known to the honourable houses, that the earl of Lauderdale, one of our number, was violently stopped, and denied access to his majesty, (by some of sir Thomas Fairfax's soldiers,) contrary to the agreement betwixt the kingdoms, whereof as yet we have had no reparation.

And now our secretary, Mr. Cheisly, being sent by us into the kingdom of Scotland, is stopped, and detained at Newcastle by the governor thereof, Mr. Lilburne, alleging such to be the condition of affairs now betwixt the kingdoms, that without the General's

order, he was not to permit any to pass. Mr. Cheisly told him, that the kingdom of Scotland had done nothing that might give cause to interrupt their former correspondence and mutual amity; desiring that he should not give ground of a breach of that happy union betwixt the nations, shewing unto him our pass, (which ever heretofore has been reputed to our own servants sufficient,) and telling that he was our secretary, sent by us to Scotland; and if that could not procure him liberty of passage, he hoped he would acknowledge the speaker of the house of commons' pass, as a sufficient warrant:[n] but he answered, he was to obey the General's orders; and if he could not produce that, he would not let him pass.

If this be not an high infringement of the law of nations, and of the public faith betwixt the kingdoms, yea, and of your own authority, we leave it to yourselves to judge; hoping you will cause make reparation to the kingdom of Scotland of those multiplied injuries, the intercepting of our letters and violent stopping of their commissioners from their king, and now denying their servants free passage to that kingdom; which we conceive the honourable houses would not

[n] Colonel Lilburne, in a letter given at length in Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 797, explains his reasons for stopping the Scottish secretary; viz. because of the disturbances in London; and because, as he avers, Mr. Cheisly produced no pass but that of the speaker, which was unsealed.

have taken well, if the like acts of violence had been done to their commissioners and servants while they were in the kingdom of Scotland.

If effectual remedies against such injustice and violence be not seasonably provided by the wisdom of the honourable houses, we cannot see how we can be here in the capacity of commissioners, to discharge the trust committed to us. We rest

Your very affectionate friends and humble servants,

CHARLES ERSKINE.
HUGH KENNEDY.
RO. BARCLAY.

Worcester House,
August 17, 1647.

MR. ANTHONY NICOLL° TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—Having received your pass, (in pursuance of an order of the house of commons,) either for my going to my own house in Cornwall or beyond the seas, I took my journey Friday last from London: and in my way for Cornwall, within four miles of Salisbury, on Sunday morning, I was seized on by one lieutenant Mosse and five other troopers, by order from the General; and am brought hither, to the head quarters, where the General has com-

° One of the eleven members. Nicoll was sent prisoner to London, with a further accusation of high treason against him: he was continued in custody, but shortly escaped. See *Whitlocke, August* 24.

manded me to stay until the pleasure of the house be known.

I therefore humbly desire that you would be pleased to acquaint the house therewith, that I may have the liberty of their order and your pass, and not continue here in the nature of a prisoner, (though truly very civilly used.)

I am infinitely troubled that any thing which concerns me should give you any disturbance to your greater business; which, that you may bring to a happy and good issue, is the daily prayer of,

Sir,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

ANTH. NICOLL.

August 17, 1647.

SIR WALTER STRICKLAND TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—The ambassadors of the States are now returned to Munster, to conclude the peace with Spain. Men that think they most see into the intentions of the French, are of opinion they will likewise conclude with Spain, to enjoy the treaty lately made with the States, which is of no effect if they make not peace with Spain as well as the States: of that I have sent you two printed copies.

The prince of Orange hath been at Spa and at Liege, a journey of pleasure; is now returned to advise with the States about sending six thousand

men to Brazil: count Maurice of Nassau is named to be general, but it is not yet fully resolved on.

I hear some ten ships are arrived out of the East Indies, very richly laden, at Amsterdam. Major-general Massey hath been at the Hague with the queen of Bohemia: I have not seen him myself, but men say here, he speaks much for the king. I hear also, that Massey is gone to Amsterdam to Poyntz, who is arrived there. It is said sir William Waller is at Rotterdam, but I know no certainty of it.

If your greater occasions put not things of lesser moment out of your mind, you will remember I was a suitor to the house for leave to come over for some short time; by which I was in hope not to be prejudicial to their service here, to which all my desires must be submitted, being willing to return again, if the house think fit to command my service here; being resolved, by my faithfulness to the public, to maintain my right of being,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

WALTER STRICKLAND.

Hague,
August $\frac{29}{19}$, 1647.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—Being much importuned by the petitioners, who have been faithful servants to the state, having

lost their limbs for them, and are now disabled from following their professions; and having laid long under cure, I could not but make it my humble request unto the house, that these officers and soldiers, who are in this condition, may be taken into consideration, for some part of their arrears to be paid to them;[p] whereby they may go about, and undertake such callings as (considering their weakness and maimedness) they may be capable of, for the getting of something towards their livelihood. This will be a great encouragement to such poor souls who have thus long languished in pain and misery.

I hope they will be looked upon with as much favour, in point of their arrears, as those who have lately received some from the house, whose actions after the receipt thereof tended to embroil the kingdom in a new and bloody war.

I shall trouble you no further at present; but remain

Your humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Kingston,
August 20, 1647.

[p] "Upon a letter from sir Thomas Fairfax, order for £30 a week for sick and wounded soldiers, 4*s*. 8*d*. a week for each of them." *Whitlocke, August* 21.

COLONEL RALPH WELDON TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—I have received yours by an express, and am very much engaged to the honourable house of commons for their care:[q] but I fear, sir, this money neither can nor will suddenly be procured, according to the great necessity of this garrison.

Sir, I can call God to witness that I have used all my endeavours to keep this garrison peaceable in the parliament's service; and have done it beyond the expectation of many, that have wondered at it, and much feared the contrary.

Sir, I had engaged myself to the soldier, that if there came no supply before Friday, to free quarter them on the town, which had been a great tyranny, considering their deep poverty, what they are out already; and yet, sir, I fear I must be forced to do it, with what effect it will produce the Lord only knows.

Sir, I must tell you plainly, that if the parliament do not suddenly and speedily do somewhat, there may, in despite of me, happen such a mischief as they and the whole kingdom may have cause to repent of.

Sir, I humbly desire the honourable house may be

[q] £8000 had been voted for the relief of Plymouth; but it was to be levied in the town, and so the remedy was as bad as the disease. See the next letter.

made acquainted with what I write. I have written my mind more plainly to Mr. Prideaux, with which I have desired him to acquaint the house.

Sir, I have kept copies of these letters, and taken witness I have sent them; so that, sir, if the honourable house be not acquainted with the state of this garrison, my conscience will yet bear me witness I have done my duty to my country.

I shall commend myself to God's protection: and whatever becomes of me, whether live or die, none shall accuse me but that I have been faithful to the parliament. The Lord's will be done. I am,

Sir,

Your very humble servant,

RALPH WELDON.

Plymouth,
August 23, 1647.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

MR. SPEAKER,—I do most really repeat my deep engagements to the honourable house of commons for their late order of £8000, concerning the payment of part of the arrears due to this garrison; but truly, sir, what I had partly then in suspicion, of the not endeavouring to levy it, or seasonable levying of the same, is now too, too probable: and, indeed, the pressing necessities of the poor soldiery are at

present so intolerable, that they are no way able to hold out till an indifferent part thereof can be collected; and moreover, before the whole can be raised, the soldiers will have as much more due to them; and, indeed, the non-probability of receiving any thing in time makes the soldiers very outrageous.

This pressing necessity of theirs (and to avoid mutinies) hath forced me now to quarter them on the better sort of the townsmen; who having formerly in a liberal manner disbursed themselves, both in lending moneys, free quarter, billeting, and otherwise, grow now also very much discontented, alleging their burden to be intolerable; and truly, sir, when I consider on their payments and losses, I cannot but commiserate their sad conditions. But to deal plainly, their discontents are on all sides risen to such an height, (if not speedily salved,) that I daily fear some extraordinary tumultuous outrage not imaginable, even to the assured plunder and ruin of most of the better sort of the townsmen, if not to the loss of the lives to many of us, their officers, who shall endeavour to keep them in quiet.

Sir, I beseech you give me leave to say, I want words to express our calamitous condition, but shall humbly refer the consideration thereof to the honourable house of commons, and also the humble tender of my resignation of this command at their feet; to which, as hitherto, I have not had one word in answer, though humbly desired.

I have not further at present, but to subscribe myself,

Sir,
Your very humble servant,
RALPH WELDON.

Plymouth,
August 27, 1647.

THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER TO DR. SHELDON.

WORTHY DR.—I fear I was too sudden and too brief in my written affirmation; and therefore, to prevent misconstructions, I desire that this may be inserted before my handwriting be produced; viz. I affirm the necessity and exigence of state may be such, that he may, &c.[r] so as the religions so tolerated be not destructive to the catholic faith, or the real settled peace of the kingdom; or so that he oblige not himself to such a toleration for ever, but until he may regain the power given him by God, whereby to reduce them, by a Christian and meek way, to one right and well grounded religion.

And this, indeed, is the same answer which in effect I gave *ore tenus*, (you know to whom;) and in this sense, I now affirm what then I wrote, though I expressed it not as now I do; and yet if I be deemed herein more scrupulous than I need, I pray

[r] See before, p. 334.

inform me, whom you shall find willing and ready to retract and conform to better reason and judgment;[s] and so command

Your affectionate friend to serve you,

Jo. Roffens.[t]

August 28, 1647.

ROBERT STERLING TO ———[u].

May it please your Excellency,—Having had intelligence of the late proceedings of the Independent party, and the sectaries their adherents, with the parliament of England, over whom of former servants they are become present masters, and do prescribe the rule and law; the officers here, considering the manifold obligations they have to the parliament, and more especially that of the covenant, did resolve, in pursuance thereof, to declare against all power and

[s] This prelate seems to have been willing to frame his opinion in whatever way would best please his royal master.

[t] John Warner.

[u] It does not appear to whom this letter was addressed; but, from the concluding paragraph, it seems probable that it was written to one of the Scottish commissioners. The disaffection of the army in Ireland to the English parliament was soon known in England; and on the 27th of September, an order was despatched to lord Inchiquin, commanding him to send over in safe custody some of his officers, who were charged with treachery towards the parliament. See *Whitlocke, September* 6, 27; and *Rushworth*, vol. ii. p. 802, 814.

authority to be exercised over them by any but by authority of a free and unconstrained parliament; and in manifestation thereof, did draw up a declaration and protestation, containing the grounds and reasons of that their resolution, to be deduced from the said proceedings of the army and practices of the said sectaries, tending to a violation of the privileges of parliament, and several other inconveniencies; against all which they have protested to adhere, in preservation of the parliament's interest, according to the national covenant; but have thought fit only to publish this inclosed remonstrance, wherein they waive the inserting of any particular mention or expressions against the said faction, until they may be assured what course would be taken for their future support or satisfaction in their desires, specified in the said remonstrance. Having this also firmly in their determination, that in case this party shall prove absolute predominant, that they will never be subservient unto them; but will all of them (an inconsiderable few excepted) withdraw themselves hence on the best terms they may compass, and to spend their lives, and what is dearest to them, in the maintenance of the covenant: whereof I have thought it fit, by this express messenger, to give your lordship intimation; and who is not only employed to give your lordship notice and assurance of the firm devotion of the General and officers here to the service of the parliament, in observance of the covenant, but to desire they may re-

ceive the favour of your lordship's advice and information, whether (as the state of affairs now stand) there be any hopes of a subsistence to be obtained thence for this army, or any other way, in case they shall be able to support themselves for six weeks space, or thereabouts; the greatest danger we are in being only those of our wants: for we are very entire among ourselves, though not able to resist our necessities above six weeks.

I humbly desire your excellency to despatch the gentleman back again with all speed, and to enable your servant to communicate the state of affairs in that kingdom to the lord president,[x] who is a great well wisher to that kingdom and nation, as I am,

Your excellency's most humble servant,

ROBERT STERLING.

Cork,
August 30, 1647.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—To satisfy the trust reposed in me by both houses of parliament, and for which you hold me responsible, I have appointed colonel Hammond,[y] a member of this army, to the government of

[x] Lord Inchiquin, lord president of Munster, who at this time was in correspondence with the marquis of Ormond. See *Clarendon*, b. x. vol. v. p. 524.

[y] "An ordinance passed the commons, for making colonel

the Isle of Wight; being persuaded to it by t importunate addresses the well affected of the I made on that behalf, and that assurance I have the gentleman's integrity and valour, through ve much experience.

I thought it my duty to acquaint you with it, a to desire your approbation to it; as also to pass su an establishment as shall be for the security of a pla of that moment. I remain

Your humble servant,

T. Fairfa

August 31, 1647.

LORD INCHIQUIN TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—Being constrained, by divers necessities the soldiers, to retire about five weeks since out the field, where I had been in the rebels' quarters i the county of Limerick, before I could look into th county of Tipperary, I did, after some short refresh ment, and the best (though but mean) provisio which I could make for the soldier, apply myself an this army forthwith again into the field; and being for want of oxen and other carriages, unable to dra forth any artillery, or to carry any larger proportio of bread than what the soldiers' knapsacks woul

Hammond governor of the Isle of Wight." *Whitloche, Sep tember* 6.

contain, I marched with the army into this county, which I entered upon on Saturday the 3rd of this instant; and having taken several castles therein, to the number of ten or twelve, putting to the sword the warders of such places as stood in opposition to the army, I passed over the river Shewer, not far from the castle of Cahir, an ancient and eminent hold of the rebels, environed with two branches of that river, which was observed to be in all appearance of that strength, as it was, both by them and by the officers of this army, esteemed impregnable; notwithstanding which, the importance of the place being seriously considered by us, we were occasioned to make an attempt upon it by this accident.

One of our horsemen being plundering near the town, was by some of the rebels wounded, and carried a prisoner into the castle, from whence he was admitted to send for a surgeon into our quarters, to dress his wounds; of which we made this use: one colonel James Hippesley, who had formerly served the king, and was (upon some assurance given me by a friend of his doing service) admitted to come into our quarters, being an ingenious person, skilled in chirurgery and in fortifications, took upon him to go under a disguise into the castle, and to dress the wounded trooper; which accordingly he did with so good caution and circumspection, as that he discovered perfectly the condition of the castle in each respect, the weakness of the ward, and especially

some defects in the wall of the outward bawne, which rendered it assaultable by our men, the taking whereof would probably induce the surrender of the castle, which he collected from the observed timorousness of the warders; which sorted to so good purpose, as that, falling on the place defective, with a party led on by colonel Hippesley himself, we carried that outward bawne, and some out-turrets, by storm, and in a few hours after had the castle surrendered unto us on quarter only for life; though, upon entry of it, we found that the same was by no force of ours to be reduced, if the defendants had not been, by divine providence, deprived of any courage to oppose us.

The place is justly looked upon by this army as the most important in the whole province, being of that strength, as not to be taken from us so long as we have victual to support a garrison therein; whereby a pass is kept open for us to make daily incursions into this country, which hath been a principal contributary to the rebels' army. To the performance of which service, the soldier was enabled, with no other food than the roots under and corn above the ground, (all their cattle being driven away before us out of our reach;) of the latter whereof we had great and abundant store, so as we have burned in this county above £20,000 worth, whereof there could be no use made through want of hand-mills, (for which I have often and earnestly written,) the water-mills being for the most part either burned or deserted.

From Cahir we marched this instant to the city of Cashel, formerly the metropolitan see of this province, where the citizens and inhabitants, amazed at the reducing of Cahir, left open the gates, and fled to the cathedral; a large and spacious pile, seated upon a rock, near the walls of the town, and of late very much fortified, and at present fully manned with divers companies of the rebels, which will render any attempts we shall make upon it very difficult; notwithstanding which, we determine, by God's assistance, to leave no means unessayed for the reducing thereof: after which, we design to fall upon the town of Fethard, an eminent walled town: and from thence to march unto Clonmell; to reduce which, we have yet no great hopes, in regard we understand that place to be very regularly fortified, and strongly manned; so as without artillery there can be no feasible attempt made upon it. But if it shall please God to bless us with success on the place, we may then with confidence assert the parliament's interest in this province to be high, and the rebels' mean and inconsiderable.

Sir, The gentry of this county, by the reducing of these places and the burning of their corn, begin to make suit that they may be admitted to a contribution, which shall be embraced so far as may conduce to the better carrying on of the war and supporting of this army, and advancing (as my zeal and duty obliges me) of the parliament's service; for

which I have no other means than this of keeping the field: from whence if I shall be driven to our garrisons, by the violence of the weather or by an over-powerful army, I am utterly ignorant how the army may be preserved from starving, without seasonable supplies from the honourable houses, to whose service I have faithfully devoted myself; remaining,

Sir,

Your humble servant,

INCHIQUIN.

Cashel,
Sept. 12, 1647.

N. HOBART TO J. HOBART.

SIR,—Credulous natures are apt to hope, and oftentimes embrace shadows for substances. I confess this is a great error, yet so incident to honest natures, that I think it more than pardonable.

When I wrote last to you, I had been with sir John Berkeley, one of his majesty's agitators, (for that is now the word,) who told me, he had a confidence (almost equal to an assurance) that the chief officers were firm to the king; and that the agitators, notwithstanding a prevalent party in the parliament, were not able to oppose them, so that they were upon a design to make sub-agitators. This was the sum of what I then intended. Cromwell, Ireton, and

Huntington, are still the same; insomuch that Henry Martin, that *flagellum principum*, said publicly that Cromwell was king-ridden. Truly there are such divisions and sub-divisions, both in the parliament and army, that I want art to make a table of them.

The duke of Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, and Ormond, were at Hampton court,[z] on Friday last, sent for by the king, with the allowance both of the parliament and army, but commanded away on Saturday by the houses:[a] this caused a great consternation at court, and has raised in all men sad and ominous thoughts. The Scots are very busy, have a great influence upon the parliament, and no small interest (by that means) in the army.

His majesty's answer to the propositions will never be forgiven by that nation. But, alas, this is but a pretence; for how can they forgive him whom they have betrayed and sold?

Sir, I must give you many thanks for the notice you are pleased to give. I shall desire a further favour, and that is, that you will be pleased to let me have a copy of the will, for it will be a great charge to take it out of the court. I pray, cousin, if it may be without prejudice to your trust, do me the favour to let me know who has the keeping of

[z] The king had removed to Hampton court on the 24th of August. *Whitlocke.*

[a] Whitlocke says, that the army declared against the continuance of these partisans of the king at Hampton. *Sept.* 9.

my brother's writings, especially that which concerns Bardal fen.

Upon the parliament and the army's agreement or disagreement depends the welfare or ruin of this nation: but let what will befall, I shall ever be,

Sir,

Your faithful kinsman to serve you,

NA. HOBART.

[Oct. 15, 1647.]

SIR THO. FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—Being very much troubled at the sad distractions of the kingdom for want of settlement, the distempers of the army for want of pay, and such other necessary satisfaction as we have long waited upon you for; not taking so much pleasure to say, whence the cause of all this trouble comes, as to use my endeavour to give a timely and effectual remedy to so much thereof as is of nearest concernment to me; I thought fit to let you know, that, by advice of the general council of the army, I have appointed a rendezvous very speedily; and they have very unanimously offered to repair to their several charges, and improve their utmost endeavours with the several regiments for the quieting of them, and recovering of the ancient discipline of the army, thereby to render it more serviceable to the parliament and the kingdom.

And to the end your expectations, and the desires of all good men, may be answered by a good issue in this work of so much concernment to the kingdom, I think fit, by the same advice, to offer unto you these particulars inclosed;[b] beseeching you, that, if more weighty businesses of the kingdom do not let, you would bring them to a speedy determination; that so your care of the army may appear, and myself and the officers thereby enabled to let the soldiers see me take such consideration of them as becomes us, and we have engaged ourselves unto. And I doubt not but thereby we shall be enabled to let you see, that this army will appear, as it hath ever professed to be, really seeking the good of this kingdom, and approving itself faithful in your service; which hath been, and ever shall be, the desire of

Your very humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Putney,
Nov. 8, 1647.

[b] The particulars desired were—"1. Six weeks' pay, (if possible;) if not, a month's pay to be presently sent to the army; 2. The arrears to be paid out of the remainder of bishops' lands, deans', &c.; 3. Provision for constant pay of the army; 4. That there be £100,000 a month for the forces in England and Ireland, and those of the supernumeraries to be disbanded; 5. That free quarter, or taking any thing from any man, be punished with death." *Whitlocke, Nov.* 9.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Sir,—This morning, colonel Whalley hath be with me, and given me an account (as far as yet understandeth) of the circumstances appearing abo the king's going away.[c] All which, the commissione of both houses (as he saith) do know as fully as h and therefore, they being (as he tells me) gone acquaint the houses therewith, I forbear for this d to command his attendance of the houses, especia in regard that there is yet some need of the co tinuance of his guard and care at Hampton court, the safe keeping of those whom he hath secured, be examined concerning the king's escape; abo whom I desire the house would take some ord what shall be done with them, for the examination them, or otherwise.

I shall to-morrow go to Ware, according to form resolutions, to rendezvous the army; and shall there until Monday, towards night, to receive yo commands.

Your humble servant,

T. Fairfax.

Putney,
Nov. 12, 1647.

[c] The king escaped privately from Hampton court, on t 11th of November. See *Clarendon*, book x. vol. v. p. 488, &

DR. HOLDSWORTH [TO MR. SANCROFT.]

LOVING SIR,—The little spark of hope that seemed to appear, is in some danger of being extinguished by the king's withdrawing of himself on Thursday night, by reason he had advice that his person was not safe where he was.

It hath put all into amazement, not knowing what to think, and being ignorant whither he is gone, very unaccommodated, but that he walks still under the shade of the Almighty.

I was come to London about some occasions, three days before, and was upon my return on Friday, when the news came hither. The Lord protect him, and bless his designs. My lady Lawley intends to send her son secretly; and sent me this inclosed, to be conveyed to you. I perceive you are acquainted with other particulars, only you may please to take notice he is a baronet.

I am glad of any refreshment you have in the university, if it be not a short gale. I fear this order they have procured will undo the small remnant that is left.

For T. Holdsworth's travel, I know not what to think: were there hopes of times being better, I would be loath he should accept it; and as they are, not before he were master of arts, and a good assurance of keeping conditions: and yet I think £20 a short allowance. There are other clouds gathering,

but our good God can dissipate all. To his grace betake you; and remain

Your affectionate friend,

R. HOLDSWORTH

Nov. 13, 1647.

LORD INCHIQUIN TO LORD TAFFE.

MY LORD,—Here is a very fair piece of groun betwixt your lordship's army and ours, on this sid the brook, whither if you please to advance, we wi do the like. We do not so much doubt the gallantr of your resolution as to think you will not come; bu do give you this notice, to the end you may see w do stand upon no advantage of ground, and ar willing to dispute our quarrel upon indifferent terms being confident that the justness of our cause will b this day made manifest by the Lord, and that you lordship's judgment will be rectified concerning

Your lordship's humble servant,

Nov. 13, 1647. INCHIQUIN

LORD INCHIQUIN TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—Upon the twelfth of this instant I marched from Moyalls to meet the rebels' army who that morning marched from Kintuirk[c] toward me, with twelve hundred horse and seven thousan

[c] Meaning Kanturk, in the county of Cork.

foot, but they gave themselves out to be two thousand horse and nine thousand foot, and both armies came in view one of another about one in the afternoon; ours being twelve hundred horse and near four thousand foot: whereupon they instantly took a hill of strength and advantage, and drew up; which being two miles distant from us, we had not daylight enough to attempt any thing upon them, and therefore lodged our men in a convenient place, about a mile from them, from whence we might observe that we could not charge them where they were, but upon disadvantage; and being doubtful that they might stand awhile the next morning upon that ground, in expectation that we would come up to them, I writ the inclosed letter to the lord Taffe, to meet him to fight upon a fair plain, that lay between both armies, and would be indifferent to both sides; to which he gave me no other answer, but by word of mouth to my trumpeter, that he was not so little a soldier as to forego any advantage of ground he could gain: and I do now find that there is a prophecy, that M^{c}Donogh should spill much English blood upon Knocknanass, which heretofore hath been the name of that hill; and my lord Taffe conceiving himself to be that M^{c}Donogh, in regard the estate of M^{c}Donogh in Connaught was made the reward of his grandfather's service against the rebels the last war, (which is now his,) he would not be drawn from the hill: to which therefore we did advance; and

finding (that as they were drawn up) we should no
only have lost the advantage of the wind and sun
but have been also forced to charge upon much dis
advantage to our horse, (if we had gone on directl
on their front,) we drew to the right hand of them
and found a piece of ground, within a convenien
distance, to play with ordnance upon their righ
wing, where I caused two pieces to play, to the inten
that I might discompose the form they were in
And, in the mean time, I directed the drawing of ou
men to the ditch at the foot of their hill, that they
might be ready to fall on, whilst they should be re
moving from their ground; but after two shots wa
made, (one whereof slew a trumpet of theirs,) they
perceiving that the ordnance would force them fro
that ground, presently came on down the hill to mee
our men; and at the same instant that we broke thei
main body and left wing, they broke part of our lef
wing of horse, being the middle division of three tha
were on that side, the other two routed those tha
charged them; and following the execution, discerne
not the advantage gained by the rebels upon thos
close by them, where colonel Purcell, with his horse
and sir Alexander M^cDonnell, whom they cal
Colla Killagh, with his red-shanks, slew sir Willia
Bridges; and colonel Gray then had the executio
of our forlorn hope of foot, under the command o
lieutenant-colonel Crisp, who was taken prisoner, an
major Browne, who was slain, with about forty of thei

men that were drawn thither to secure the ordnance, which sir Alexander M^{c}Donnell possessed awhile, (as also our baggage,) until I happened to look back that way, (and perceiving them chasing our men,) I commanded two divisions of horse, who were the reserve of the right wing, to charge them, which was exceedingly well performed, and sir Alexander and his lieutenant-colonel slain, with most of all his red-shanks, of whom I believe there was not above a fourth part that escaped.

This fight began a little before two in the afternoon: the dispute lasted not above half a quarter of an hour, but the execution ended not that day; for, though we were killing till night as fast as we could, we found two or three hundred the next day in the woods, as we were reviewing the bodies, but could not get any exact account of the number slain: for after I had an account of more than two thousand, that the pursuing parties slew in their several walks, I was informed of many hundreds that were slain in divers other places; so, as our men believe, there were not less than five thousand slain. But I do not think it possible there should be above three thousand, because the dispute lasted not at all; and that except the three regiments of foot, that came on with sir Alex. M^{c}Donnell, the rest made the best use they could of their heels to the woods and bogs, towards Kintuirk, Newmarket, and Liscarroll; yet we cut off two hundred of their horse, and killed many of their

horsemen afterwards. We took four wagons full of ammunition, but have not yet taken up their arms, whereof I am most confident that they have left us near six thousand in the field; which is so much the more considerable a loss, because scarcity of arms amongst them is very great, as appears by some of their letters,[d] which doth discover all the secrecy of that party, and their designs. Wherefore I thought it my duty to present them to your lordships.

I am told, by a gentlemen we have taken, that if my lord Taffe do not make an escape, that their supreme council will undoubtedly take away his life, having knowledge of his design against them; which they were first occasioned to grow jealous of, by the information he gave them of my offering, and his rejecting, a cessation, which he laboured to possess them with, whilst he sought to get one from me, to the end he might destroy them, and bring the sole power into his own hands: which when they began to apprehend, they employed Bealing, one of their council, to discourse with my lord about the reason of his rejecting a cessation, who discovered that there was no such thing; whereupon the supreme council (seeming not to take notice of Taffe's designs) pretended a necessity to have Owen Roe engage with colonel Monk and colonel Jones, and that all would be at stake; and that therefore four hundred of

[d] Two of these letters are from lord Digby to lord Taffe, and are printed in Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 917, 921.

Taffe's horse must instantly march to his assistance, which they sent him orders for, but were not obeyed: on the other side, instead of enjoining Owen Roe to fight, they expressly forbade it him; and then resolved to let colonel Monk and colonel Jones take any place, or destroy any country, rather than they would engage his army, until they had established their power in the assembly by the countenance of it. Again they sent for my brother, to whom, by the advice of the council of war, I gave liberty unto to go, upon his word to get off that estate he had in their quarters, being next to be released; and they earnestly pressed him to labour with me to treat with them about a cessation, making demonstration of great advantage I should have by it, but with no other purpose than to discern whether I were at all inclinable to it, being afraid of nothing more, because Taffe's army would then be at liberty to countenance their faction in the assembly. Wherefore they send letter upon letter to him, to do some considerable service upon us; upbraiding him with the vast expense and idleness of his army; which they use means to have written unto him by divers private hands, insomuch that my lord Taffe was fain, for the vindication of his honour, to decline his oracle and my lord Digby's advice, who forbade him to engage upon any terms against us, lest it should overthrow all his other designs.

Sir, Thus it hath pleased the Lord to make our

enemies grind themselves to powder, whilst both aim at the power to destroy us. And now, whereas we were the other day ready to perish by our wants, we have now liberty to disperse ourselves in the rebels' quarters, and take what they afford; whither we have marched with hungry bellies, the common soldier having spent all his provision before we fought, and neither officer or soldier having one bit of bread or any other victual, but what oatmeal and flesh we got in our marches.

I am now forced to invite the country to come in under contribution, that we may prosecute this victory, and at least keep the rebels from recruiting their army; if I do not reduce some of their chief garrisons, which I design, in case I can get this country to bring me in provisions whilst I lie before it. And though this design may be too difficult to effect, this unseasonable time of the year, yet if I did not invite the inhabitants to stay at their habitations and make provision for us, I could not possibly get one day's victual; so as I should be forced to return home, and leave the country, neither made useless to them by destruction, nor useful to us by present supportation or future contribution; which we hope to force from them by this means, in some considerable measure; and yet protect them no longer than the season of the year would of itself prove a sufficient fortification against us.

If I could discern any other that might better

conduce to the advantage of your service, I should thereunto apply the endeavours of,

Sir,

Your humble servant,

Gurtnectuberid, Nov. 18, 1647. INCHIQUIN.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—I have often troubled you on the behalf of men whose necessities have pleaded for commiseration: and indeed I know not any whose wants call for pity and help more than this bearer, Mr. Jones; who in the beginning of this war did you very good service, as a captain in Glamorganshire, where he was instrumental to the reducing the town of Cardiff, and of that county, to the obedience of the parliament, as by this certificate inclosed, from gentlemen of very good quality in South Wales, will appear. He also disbursed out of his own purse above two hundred pounds for arms and ammunition, the particulars whereof are set down in the said inclosed paper.

He hath a wife and four small children, and hath been glad a long time to serve as a common foot soldier in this army, where his carriage has not been (as far as I can hear) other than humble and honest. Indeed, sir, the man is very poor, and much to be pitied: besides, I conceive it just, at the least, that he

should be speedily reimbursed his debt, without being delayed and undone by long attendance. And the man having adventured his life, and all that is dear to him, for years, it will be very honourable to give him something in consideration thereof.

If this case that I now represent were not very clear to be as I here express, I should not trouble you with these many words about it.

The house of peers did, about a month ago, recommend the petition of this poor man, and sent it down to the house of commons. I thought fit to acquaint you herewith; and rest

Your faithful friend and servant,

T. Fairfax.

Windsor,
January, 1647[8].

WILLIAM PRYNNE TO THE STANDING COMMITTEE FOR THE COUNTY OF SOMERSET.

Gentlemen,—I am very sorry that your carriage towards me at Bridgnorth, and since, hath been such as to give me just occasion of complaint. I was in good hope, that my not questioning you for that injury to myself and the country all this while, would have so availed with you, as not to get a second affront upon me, who never offered you the least, and could have, in a way of justice, done you some

displeasure ere this, had I been vindictive. But it seems my patience hath produced contrary effects, and animated some of you to wreak your malice on my friends, because you are unable to do any mischief to myself; for which I must crave both justice and reparations in theirs and my own behalf at your hands, or else you must pardon me if I use the last means and friends I can to right them and myself, in some other place, though with some of your trouble and disreputation.

I am certainly informed, upon good grounds, that not out of zeal to justice, or the public good, but particular spleen and malice against me, some of you have most injuriously caused the sheep and cattle of Mr. Laurence Walrond, without any notice or demand, to be driven away by the sequestrator's troopers, upon pretence for his fifth and twentieth part, which you discharged a year since; and no security would be taken, though offered, nor discharge allowed, and the sheep must be sold at undervalues, and he forced to redeem them, as well being almost spoiled with the drift. And all this, because he was my family's friend. I hope you have righted him (as your solicitor promised) ere this. Had you rested here, it had been wrong enough upon him and me; but you have proceeded further, to discontent and injure three whole parishes, in depriving them of their faithful, painful pastor, and undo a poor minister as much as in you lieth, out of particular malice

towards me, and not out of zeal to justice; because he is the minister of the parish where I live, and I have shewed him some favour to encourage him in his studies: the man I mean is Mr. Tanner, minister of Swainswick, whom you, with your officers and troopers, styled and prosecuted as my chaplain; the true state of whose case (as I am credibly informed) was this:

Before the country was under the king's power, he was for the parliament; but the king prevailing, and he being unable to remove and subsist elsewhere, by reason of his family and charge of children, his son was induced to serve under the lord Hopton against the parliament; whom having not seen a long time, hearing he was about Witham or Woodhouse, he took an indiscreet journey thither to see him; and in his return homewards, meeting with some soldiers of Bath garrison, who came from Woodhouse, with green boughs in their hats, they forced him, after many refusals, and some others besides, to put a bough they brought him into his hat, he not daring to refuse them longer.

After which, he, being summoned with others by warrant to appear before Mr. Nevill, (when the whole country and we were under the king's power,) did, at Mr. Nevill's request, and command to despatch the country, list some of their names under him, whilst he rose upon some occasion, till he returned. For these two oversights, whilst in the enemies'

power, he was, upon the recovery of the country, and the committee's first sitting, committed, by sir John Horner, Mr. Paradine, and Mr. Hippesley, at Frome, and sent prisoner to Banwell, where he remained half a year; and then, upon petition of four whole parishes on his behalf, he was fully heard before these three gentlemen who committed him, and others of the committee, who, upon full debate, concluded to restore him. And after, the standing committee at Ilchester, upon another debate and hearing of what could be objected, about two years since, enlarged and restored him to his ministry and living, upon these terms, that he should take the league and covenant, the oath of non-adherence, and give security for his good bearing to the parliament: all which he did, and thereupon he was fully restored; no matter of scandal, false doctrine, or preaching, or praying against the parliament, being objected against him. Since this enlargement and restitution, he hath constantly preached thrice every Lord's day, and twice each fast day; used the directory, conformed to all ordinances of parliament, lived without the least scandal or offence, and with the general love and approbation of his neighbours.

Whereupon, considering the greatness of his charge, having six children to provide for, the smallness of his two adjoining livings, (not worth above £60 or £70 per annum,) and the pains he took in preaching, about a year since I procured an addition of £20,

by way of union, to his maintenance, and those who should succeed him, from the committee of plundered ministers: since which, he hath been put to about £30 cost in repairing the chancel and his parsonage house, which fell down suddenly, being ruinous; which, with his former losses, taxes, and free quarter to the parliament forces, have brought him much in debt; and yet, notwithstanding his former release and restitution, after two full hearings, his constant conformity to the parliament, and consistent preaching for two years' space, his blameless life and orthodox doctrine, some of you have lately sequestered him, only upon the old articles, for which he was committed, and, upon hearing, discharged and restored, without any new matter or complaint, and commanded him not to preach any more, only because he is Prynne's chaplain.

This I can prove by some of your own confessions, by Barker's and his troopers' speeches, (his only prosecutors, and your agents,) and by others. And the whole country takes notice, and reports that some of your malice and spleen against me, for Bridgwater quarrel, is the only cause of his new sequestration and silencing. And the case itself speaks it, since you discharged him before, and never questioned him in two years' space, until now, after my return to London, and upon no new matter, but the old alone, for which he was discharged.

Gentlemen, I beseech you consider, in cold blood,

the malice and injustice of this proceeding, thus to oppress a poor minister, and leave three parishes together, like sheep without a shepherd, quite destitute of all spiritual food for their souls; in such a barren place where there are ten parishes more adjoining without any settled minister to instruct them, some whereof (besides the other three) were edified and refreshed by his ministry; and all to revenge yourselves on me, who never did you injury, and have been wronged by you. Yea, consider how you will answer this impiety before Christ's tribunal, thus to shut up his painful ministers' mouths, and starve peoples' souls. Or how you will answer the discontenting of so many people, out of pure malice to me, in these discontented times, to the parliament, that entrust you to ease and relieve, not grieve and oppress the country with such malicious proceedings.

All you can say is, he was a malignant in those particulars you charged against him. I grant it true. Yet, first, you punished him sufficiently for it by his imprisonment. Secondly, you released and restored him yourselves, upon full hearing, and permitted him without any exceptions till now. Thirdly, yourselves have entertained in your service some malignants in arms, as I can prove, who were worse than he. Fourthly, he hath submitted, complied, and conformed in all things to the parliament for two years' space, and expressed no malignancy since, that you can charge him with. Fifthly, his malignancy

against the parliament was no ground of his late prosecution, but fruits of your and your officers' malignancy against me; who, when their accounts and actions come to be examined, will some of them prove malignants, and knaves to boot. Sixthly, many ministers, more malignant than ever he shewed himself, are still suffered, if orthodox and not scandalous. And to give you one instance: Dr. Usher, archbishop of Armagh, who was with the king, and adhered to him all these wars, is, by the votes and orders of both houses, permitted to preach at Lincoln's Inn,* and to come to the assembly too, though he never took the covenant nor negative oath, as Mr. Tanner hath done, upon these grounds, that his doctrine is orthodox and pious, and his life blameless.

And in time of scarcity of ministers there is a necessity of admitting such, though they have been against us, rather than people should want ministers to instruct them, and so fall into atheism, profaneness, schisms, or heresies, for want of preachers to instruct them. Upon which grounds you ought much more to have permitted Mr. Tanner to preach and enjoy his living, according to your own former orders;

* "A great debate was this day [Dec. 20, 1647,] in the house, whether Dr. Usher should continue preaching at Lincoln's Inn, he having formerly adhered to the enemy against the parliament; and the house was divided, and it was carried in the affirmative, he taking the negative oath." *Rushworth*, vol. ii. p. 937, 8.

and are bound now, in justice and conscience, to restore him, to satisfy the discontented people, and to do right to me, for whose sake alone he unjustly suffers.

Having thus truly stated his cause, my request to you is, to do him and me that right, as becomes just and honest men, without delay: which if you refuse to do, I am resolved, by God's assistance, to improve all the interests and friends that I have, but I will have right and reparations from you, for all the past and present injuries, in the highest judicatory in the kingdom; and will publish your malicious actions and proceedings to the world, that others may blush at them, if you will not: which I write, not by way of menace, but to forewarn you of my peremptory resolution; from which, God willing, I shall not recede: and if you suffer by it, you must blame yourselves, not me; who, if you make not your enemy by denying my just request for those you have injured for my sake, (whose wrongs I cannot pocket up, as I would and can do my own,) should desire rather to be, and continue,

Your affectionate friend,

In the service of my country,

WM. PRYNNE.

Lincoln's Inn,
January 15, 1647[8.]

SIR THOMAS KNYVETT[f] TO SIR JOHN HOBART.[g]

Worthy Sir,—The scene of our sad distracted commonwealth's affairs alters almost every day, and has put on divers shapes since I saw you. Those castles in the air, that were ere while flitting up and down, sure are vanished in fumes, for I never heard the least tittle of them since our last parley; nor, indeed, was there any sound or probable ground-work for a wise man to engage upon. You answer all those imaginary propositions so fully, as might satisfy any men that were not swelled more with passion than reason. For my own part, I'll never pretend to more wit than God have given me; nor shall I ever rely upon any principle, but what my conscience dictates to me is warranted by the word of God.

Sir, I confess I never fancied a conjunction with the Scots, either in their laws civil, or their spiritual discipline, much less to join in a covenant and arms with so treacherous a nation against my own prince and countrymen, as at first; nor can I humour a thought yet of assisting them against these: for though I know our English rulers now stink in the nostrils of

[f] I take the writer of this letter to be the person of the same name, who was one of the representatives in parliament for the city of Westminster during part of James the First's reign. See *Brown Willis's Notitia.*

[g] Member of parliament for Norfolk.

all loyal true-hearted subjects, yet sure I am, I shall join with the cunninger traitors of the two; and therefore let Presbyterians and Independents fight till I part them. But it is so far from coming to that, as it is now noised up and down, that a reconciliation and compliance is a working between the two factions; which, if once composed, the next effect sure must be a marriage between a Presbyterian Incubus and an Independent Succubus, to beget a new generation of devils for the next parliament; or rather for the continuation of this, so well grounded in diabolical principles.

This week brought to my view a declaration in the king's name, which doth yet amuse me how it got hither in print: indeed, in my judgment, it can be no other pen but his own, by the phrase and spirit; and sure I think a counterfeit would never have had that power of my passion that this had. I wish forty thousand stout well-armed men had but the same sense of it. But to divert this passion, up starts a babe of grace, of this week's production, "Mr. Martin's Defence of the Parliament's late Votes against the King and the Scots' Commissioners." I have read it, and can say no more, but that I look upon it not only as the spurious issue of his brain, but as the sense of the saint-like houses: yet brave Harry hath the better on't, to beget the bastard, and make the honourable state to father it; else, sure, it durst never have peeped abroad.

There is another rumour now on foot, of the king's resigning of his crown of Scotland to prince Charles. I do not believe this at all, neither (if so) at present do I apprehend where the advantage lie, either to father or son. I could frame some reasons against them.

Sir, I have sent you a book to peruse: if you have seen it, I pray send me whose writing you conceive it; sure he was both able and honest. I found it thrown in a corner, where it hath lain ever since I was carried out of the country.

Sir, I have troubled you too far with nothing to the purpose. In these dangerous times, I think myself extreme happy in the acquaintance of so able a judgment as yourself to converse with sometimes; which if you please to afford me, you will extremely engage,

Sir,

Your faithful friend to serve you,

THO. KNYVETT.

Feb. 11, 1647[8.]

LORD INCHIQUIN TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—On Wednesday, the second of this instant, I marched from Cork to Tallogh, appointed for the rendezvous of that part of the army which was then to be drawn forth into the field; and (having seen the men drawn up) the day ensuing,

I went (by Cappoquin, over the mountain) with the horse unto Newcastle, in the county of Tipperary, (the only county in this province which was not totally disabled, by our and the rebel forces, to yield this army any support for such a time as might be considerable;) from whence I marched, with a part of the horse, on Friday, to the garrison of Cahir, as if resolved to spend some time in the settlement of that place: but, about two hours before midnight, I drew thence to a rendezvous, pre-appointed for four hundred choice horse to meet, and hastened that night directly to Carrick, about fourteen Irish miles distant, and by break of day fell into the town; where we found so slender a garrison of the rebels, as that whilst we forced the gates, the most part of the soldiers stole away over the river Shewer.

Here we met some boats, laden with goods and commodities of value, passing from Clonmell to Waterford, which the soldiers made sudden plunder of; and about fifteen horse of the lord Taffe's life-guard, the lieutenant whereof we also surprised the same night.

This place, upon view and consideration had of it, we found to be more important and commodious for us than Clonmell, (the point of plunder only excepted,) being tenable by a much smaller number of men, and lying more upon the frontiers of the province, convenient to annoy both Waterford and Clonmell, and hinder the intercourse of the rebels; so as we have resolved of settling a garrison in it, and to

repair the ruinous bridge over it; whereby the retreat of this army will be on all occasions secured, and we in a much better capacity of prejudicing the rebels, and making incursions into their quarters.

As the town, so the country adjacent was generally surprised in such sort, as that those of better quality only fled to save their lives, leaving much of their cattle, and goods not portable, with the poorer sort of people, to our mercy; whereby the soldier is at present well accommodated with provisions in their quarter, which I enlarged into the province of Leinster, for four or five miles along the river Shewer: and now, finding the country in general, and the supreme council of the rebels, in a very great distraction, I thought good to use all the means I could to increase their dissemination; and to that end marched into the county of Kilkenny, as far as Callan, an old ruinous corporation, walled in part, and lying on a river, wherein were several strong old piles, which induced the garrison in it to refuse the surrender upon my summons; so that being enforced to storm, the soldiers, beaten from the walls, retired to those old castles in the town, whence we fetched them by assault, and put most of them to the sword. We found only one castle so defensible, as that to preserve our own men, now far from their quarters. We have taken the surrender upon quarter.

From hence I intend to march towards Kilkenny, being but five miles distant, and, as my intelligence

(which I find hitherto very perfectly good, though purchased at a dear rate) assures me, in no very defensible posture, if a considerable attempt be made upon it on all sides; to which purpose I have hired a messenger to carry me a brief to colonel Jones, who now lies before Ballyshannon, not above thirty miles hence, to advance against one side of the town, as I resolve to do against the other; wherein, if it please God to bless us with his concurrency and success, we may, with due submission to the Divine Disposer of all things, conclude the work in the two provinces of Leinster and Munster to be well-nigh finished; my intelligence asserting unto me, that in all probability, if we proceed with our intended attempt upon Kilkenny, they design to fly for Galway, (as they did from Clonmell, upon my advance, in expectation of a siege, which I was not able to lay unto them, without disabling my party for the field,) and there to set up their rest.

For Kilkenny, if it fall into our hands, I shall leave it in possession of colonel Jones, being not in a condition to garrison any place of importance, without prejudice to the service, and disappointing me in my main design; which is to prosecute Taffe from place to place, wheresoever I shall understand him to be drawing towards a head; for which, having given him some little time in my absence, I shall be in the greater possibility to disperse them upon my return: by which course, I shall not only prevent the rebels

raising an army, but deprive them of the means to support me, by disenabling the country to contribute thereto, and making all the use that may be possible thereof for our subsistence; the only means of advancing and preserving your interest in this kingdom, which is not now in so high a probability of being absolute and entire, if seasonable supply overtake us, as it will be in evident danger to be impaired, and annihilated, if some comfort and encouragement do not speedily arrive unto us: most of the late miseries and hardships which the soldiers have so vigorously and strangely undergone, being upon the score of my earnest persuasions and asseverations of supplies, especially of clothing, ready to be transmitted to them with the first conveniency; by the confident expectation whereof, their courages have been hitherto upheld; the longer disappointment whereof will be of most dangerous and destructive consequence to your service.

I have already given an accompt unto the honourable committee at Derby house, of our general wants and necessities, and of the several defects whereby this army will unavoidably become unserviceable against the spring. This necessitated winter action being a great disimprovement thereof. And I shall now only offer to the consideration of the honourable houses, that in one month's time, with the assistance of the divine co-operation, and of competent supplies from thence, I could make your forces master of this

province entirely, and of a great part of the province of Leinster; the present opportunity of doing whereof being lost, and the rebels, by our want of means, suffered to grow again to a considerableness, and your forces to become either contemptible, or a prey to their teeth, how disadvantageous (if not dishonourable[g]) it will be to your service, I humbly submit to better judgments; and remain

Your humble servant,

INCHIQUIN.

Callak,
Feb. 17, 1647 [8.]

THE PRINCE ELECTOR TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF PEERS.

MY LORD,—I desire you to acquaint the house, that I am very sensible of their constant affection and care for my maintenance;[h] and to assure them, that my endeavours and actions shall always be suitable unto those obligations under which I stand to them and this kingdom.

[g] Very shortly after this, lord Inchiquin revolted; and endeavoured, but in vain, to corrupt his officers. See *Whitlocke, April* 14, 1648; and *Rushworth*, vol ii. 1063.

[h] The prince, for his good affection to the popular cause, had been long since voted the considerable allowance of £8000 a year. *Whitlocke, May* 6, 1645.

I must further entreat your lordship to represent to them, how that the two houses did, in October last, upon my request, give leave for the levying and transporting of four hundred men, to two captains having commission from my brother, prince Philip, for the state of Venice: but the said captains not being able to perform those conditions, upon which they had engaged, there hath as yet been nothing at all done in that business.

There is, for the present, one captain Wilkins, who hath undertaken the same employment; unto him the General hath given a warrant for the raising of the aforesaid number of men. Therefore my desire is to the house, that they would be pleased, in pursuance of their favourable intentions to my said brother, to renew their former leave for their transport; the said captain giving good assurance, that it shall not be to the prejudice of the affairs of this kingdom. Herewith I rest

Your lordship's
Most affectionate friend to serve you,
CHARLES LODOVIC.

Somerset House,
April 4, 1648.

FRANCIS GARDINER [TO MR. SANCROFT.]

SIR,—When my son's desires inclined me to settle him at Cambridge, my endeavour was to have him

forewarned against the many allurements the place affords to seduce unexperienced youth from the end their friends aim at, improvement in knowledge. By those cautions, and your friendly care, I hope he hath scaped those rocks, at which full many a bark hath perished; but knowing his many hinderances by sickness and long absence, I must content myself, though he return not so richly fraught, as from so plentiful a clime and in so long a voyage, with industry, he might.

He is now for a coast no less dangerous, which some call a third university, the Inns of court. Be pleased, for his farewell, to premonish and advise what haven he must tend to, what rocks and shelves avoid, by what stars direct his course; and let your well wishing prayers, as a prosperous gale, fill his sails.

I confess my judgment is against so frequent change. I think it not enough only to salute an university; yet blame not my assent: his mother's friends have a powerful influence; I cannot gainsay what he desires, if seconded by them. I hope the danger of miscarriage is over; and I trust he will follow those principles he hath learned, both by precept and example, from so good tutors, in the number of whom yourself may deservedly challenge the first place. And to you I profess myself much obliged; wishing heartily that some good occasion might present itself, whereby really to witness your care not undervalued.

I have long been a stranger to any line from you
let it not be troublesome, as at first you gave hi
then character, so, for a *vale*, truly and plainly t
decipher your pupil and his disposition, whom yo
cannot in this time of trial but thoroughly know
and, in account of all your high deservings, I shal
ever be

Your most affectionate friend,

FRAN. GARDINER

April 11, 1648.

COLONEL HAMMOND[1] TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—The settling of the affairs of thi
place in a better posture than now they stand, is c
that concernment, that it puts me in some straits
whether I might not more contribute to your servic
by my coming up to London, to possess you with th
true sense of our condition here, than by abidin
here, and by that means continuing the affairs c
this place in the ill order, I wish I might not to
truly say, the little security, they yet stand in. Bu
I dare not do the former without your leave, unti
I see the inconveniencies of the latter may not b
removed another way, which causeth me to give yo
this account.

[1] The Tanner collection contains several more letters fro
colonel Hammond during this period, but such as are omitte
may be found in Rushworth.

First, that of the £1000 ordered by the house for the reparations and further fortifications of this castle, I have received but £500; which being now nigh spent, and that work most necessary to be carried through, causeth me to desire you, that the other £500 may be immediately sent down, otherwise the works must suddenly cease, that goes on very fast: and that you will please to employ hither an able engineer, who may provide what further security, with reasonable charge, may be given to this so considerable place. Also, if you shall think it fit, that a granary or store-house may be built, and provisions of corn, levies in for victuals, and moneys, speedily supplied to that purpose.

Next, I shall be bold to acquaint you, that notwithstanding you were pleased to vote the making up the two companies of the army here to five hundred men, which is the least proportion to be thought on with any security, yet through the want of the provision of money, which you were then pleased also to vote, more than three hundred I could not raise. My humble suit to you therefore in this is, that you will please to see your former order put in execution, that the number of five hundred men may be immediately made up; and to that end, that the £1000 *per mensem*, for their pay that shall exceed the three hundred, and the provision of the king's family, may be constantly advanced: for, as yet, we are so far from being in a capacity of raising and paying the

men appointed by your order, or having advanc
money, without which soldiers cannot be raised an
maintained, or indeed the family well ordered, that
am engaged for at least £500, for the making ne
cessary provisions for the family. For since Mr
Cressett, the late treasurer, went hence, which i
more now than five weeks, at which time he left, a
appears by his accompts, £600 debts, I have receive
but £1000; so that all that hath been since spen
more than £400 is now owing, and the greatest pa
of it upon my score. I beseech you, sir, that thi
may be remedied.

Sir, I make bold to acquaint you further with th
difference of an account, which, as I understand, ca
only be set right by you, which is this. Upon th
first coming over of the two companies of the arm
hither, I was necessitated to add the soldiers formerl
in the forts and castles to my company, there t
muster, and pay them for their subsistence, by n
means thinking it safe to disband them; which othe
wise must have been done, they having been above
year before without pay, and never having receive
one day's free quarter, almost to the starving of them
selves, their wives, and children; most of them s
related being all islanders. And here give me leav
to tell you, by the way, that the allowance you wer
pleased to make them out of the delinquents' fines, i
the late tumult and rebellion about captain Burley,

[1] Captain Burley had headed a mutiny in the Isle of Wight

is not a penny of it paid, nor like to be suddenly, so that these poor men continue still in sad want; which, I beseech you, may be considered some other way. Now they having been thus mustered and paid from that time until this, and of absolute necessity to be continued, my humble suit to you is, that my accompt may be so taken by the committee of the army for what is past; and if you shall judge that not fit, then what exceeds two private companies, consisting of two hundred men, (which is all the said committee is pleased to say they can pay upon their order,) may be paid some other way, the money being so necessarily expended already: what this will amount to, I have lately sent unto Mr. Scawen a particular.

I shall only add to the long trouble I have already given you, that, according to your former order, also you will please to settle considerable pensions upon those gentlemen appointed to attend the king, proportionable to their trust and care required. And considering the strange reports which have been, without the least ground, raised, and, as I understand, still continued, concerning my barbarous usage of the king, it may not be unnecessary for me to say to you, in my own behalf, and I hope among all modest men, the commonness of this so confident report will in this plead my excuse, that I have, to the height of my power, given the king, upon all occasions, all possible

attempted to seize Carisbrooke castle, and take away the king. See *Whitlocke, Jan.* 1, 1647 [8.]

respects, answerable to the duty I owe to his person and the great trust you have pleased to repose i me; and, truly, if otherwise, I should be more un worthy than those wicked men who raised the re port would make me.

Sir, I beseech you be pleased to determine thes particulars, so as they may become effectual to you service, there being little or nothing more in then than you have already ordered; and this I beg, no so much for mine own ease of the great burden upo my shoulders, (indeed exceedingly too weighty fo me,) as for the greater security of your so consider able affairs.

Sir, The duty I owe you is the cause of thi trouble; which I hope will intercede pardon for,

Sir,

Your most faithful and humble servant,

Ro. Hammond

Carisbrooke Castle,
April 22, 1648.

SIR JACOB ASTLEY[m] TO SIR THOMAS POTTS.

Much honoured good Cousin,—We were al hopeful to have seen you here this day, and are heartily sorry that an ague hath troubled you, and dis-

[m] Sir Jacob Astley had served as a major-general in the king's army, but had lately been admitted by the parliamen to compound. See *Whitlocke March* 1, 1647 [8.]

appointed us; but, I hope and wish it may not last, but, as taken in the sunrise, turn to better health.

Cousin, I shall heartily wish you a good journey, and an author to a happy peace. I thank you kindly. As for London, I and my businesses there, I well hope, hath bidden it farewell for a long time; only my dutiful respects to my lord of Northumberland, I pray present. Concerning £400 that I owe in London against August next, I have already taken order for the payment of it, and shall not make use of any moneys out of Holland, being my wife's, which I am very loath to diminish. It was very strange to us to hear the sad news of Norwich,[n] of the loss of so many men. As sir Edward Astley is gone thither this day, this night we shall better understand the circumstances thereof by his return.

But it is a greater wonder to hear that the duke of York is escaped.[o] I pray God it may not redound

[n] See post, p. 400, and note.

[o] The duke of York was placed by the parliament under the charge of the earl of Northumberland: he was, before his escape, at St. James's; and while at play after supper with the duke of Gloucester and princess Elizabeth, in a room by themselves, "he privately slipped from them down the back stairs, without cloak or coat, in his shoes and stockings; and by the way of the privy-garden, having got a key of the doors, he escaped away through the park." *Whitlocke, April* 22. Colonel Bamfield aided his escape, having dressed him in woman's clothes, and prepared a vessel to carry him to Holland. See *Clarendon*, vol. vi. p. 18, 19. The parliament acquitted the earl of Northumberland of all blame. *Whitlocke, April* 29.

any ways to my lord of Northumberland's prejudice The discourse spread by some, at my last being Wells, your servant will shew you a letter from th innkeeper there what it was, as that trooper I nev saw or spoke withal, to my knowledge.

My wife, self, sister, and daughter, right affectio ately salute you, all of us wishing you a good journe and a happy instrument of peace making: all o respects to my cousin, your son and his lady, and a yours. And so I rest,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

JACOB ASTLE

Hilderton,
April 28, 1648.

COLONEL RAINSBOROUGH TO THE SPEAKER

MR. SPEAKER,—This is only to let you unde stand that the duke of York did certainly land Flushing, on sabbath day morning last, about eigh o'clock in the morning. He went over in a sma junk off that place, which lay fourteen days in th river purposely for him: he had with him when h landed about fourteen persons, three or four of the being women.

I have also very late news from Paris, that th prince is suddenly to depart France; but which wa or whither, is not known. We want the captains

the Antelope, Swallow, and John exceedingly, as also the lieutenants, there being none of those former wanting that came down.

What I hear further, you shall speedily receive from,

Sir,

Your very humble and faithful servant,

THO. RAINSBOROUGH.

From on board the Reefer, in the Downs, April 28, 1648; past eleven at night.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—The growing strength of your enemies in South Wales, and the difficulties of bringing them to a present engagement in that mountainous country, (as by the late experience of colonel Horton's proceedings may appear,) do require (for the bringing of that business to a speedy issue) such an accession of forces (to what is there already) as may be divided into several parties, and each one able to engage the enemy. Upon consideration whereof, I have (with the advice of a council of war) resolved to send a considerable part of the army into those parts, and lieutenant-general Cromwell to command them; and hold it requisite that, until that business be ended, the rest of the army should lie something nearer that way than as yet it doth.

I find also, by the strong endeavours of cavaliers

and disaffected persons to raise the like disturbanc
in other parts, that there is use for all the forces yc
have, to be employed several ways for the suppressin
of insurrections.

Upon these considerations, together with the je
lousy which (through ill reports) hath been latel
conceived in the city against the forces of this arm
and against their lying nearer the city, (which hat
occasioned your order that their removal should b
considered,) and conceiving very good hopes (throug
the choice of such a person as major-general Skippo
to command all the forces within the late lines
communication) that those forces may henceforth b
so ordered as to afford a sufficient guard to the pa
liament, I have thought it best (by the same advic
to send orders to those two regiments lying
Whitehall and the Mews,[o] for their marching fro
thence on Wednesday next, unless you shall think f
in the mean time to give other order for their furth
stay.

Your humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX

Windsor,
May 1, 1648.

[o] "The house ordered a letter to the General to stay th
removal of those regiments till further order; and a committ
to treat with the city, what guard they will provide for th
houses, if these regiments be removed." *Whitlocke, May* 2.

[p] Sir T. Fairfax had now succeeded to the title of lo
Fairfax, his father having died March 13 in this year; but

CAPTAIN ANDREW BALL[q] TO SIR ARTHUR HASLERIG.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—After my humble service presented unto you, these few lines are to certify you of my coming before the town of Berwick,[r] being the 2nd of this instant May, betwixt the hours of eight and nine in the forenoon: and I stood so near the shore, that I fired ninety-four pieces of ordnance into the town; that is to say, fourteen whole culverines, sixty-five demi-culverines, and fourteen sakers: and we saw many horse along the hills, riding to the town. And the last night, I, being in Holy Island Road, having sent my boat ashore to captain Batten,[s] to the castle, to know how all things stood with him, he writ me a letter to this effect. That the cavaliers in the country go into the town hourly, and that they make the townsmen take up arms, and those that refuse they turn out of the gates; and on Saturday, they had from Leith thirty barrels of powder and three load of match.

he did not assume that title, he may still pass under his more common designation.

[q] Captain of the "Adventure" frigate, off Berwick.

[r] Sir Marmaduke Langdale had, on the 28th of April, taken Berwick by surprise, and now held it for the king.

[s] Governor of Holy Island. Langdale had endeavoured, by large promises, to seduce him from his allegiance to the parliament; but he refused, and received the thanks of the house in consequence. *Whitlocke, May* 9.

Sir, As yet, I believe there are no great guns con hither, for I have not heard the action of any; an with God's assistance, I shall do my best endeavou to the uttermost of my power, to prevent any fro coming by water, or any other provision whatsoeve

The last night, captain Batten sent me a prison aboard, whose name is Mr. Peter Jones, one of th island; and he certified me, that my lord of Newcast is there, with sir Marmaduke Langdale, sir Willia Fleming, sir Charles Lucas, and my lord Withe ington; and he reports that these are all at prese in Berwick.

I desire that your honour may be pleased to l me hear from you by the first opportunity, wheth any forces are determined hither or no; for I a confident, if they come in any short time, that th route will fly. Thus, waiting your honour's pleasu I take my leave for the present; and rest, as I a your honour's true and faithful servant, to the utt most of my power, for the good of the public,

ANDREW BAL

From Berwick Road,
May 2, at the hour
of twelve, 1648.

I desire your honour to certify the parliament these passages, and my being here; and to send aw this packet with all the speed that may be.

SIR ARTHUR HASLERIG, GOVERNOR OF NEWCASTLE, TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—Immediately after I heard that Berwick was taken, I writ to captain Batten, and sent him men, ammunition, and provision, that Holy Island might be secured. I have sent you a copy of his last letter, and sir Marmaduke's letter[t] to him.

I hope you have sent unto the committees of the six northern counties, to command them to join in association; for you see the necessity of it; the gentlemen at the meeting at Richmond being very tender, your particular commands being not received.

I can hear nothing out of Scotland, only great noises of raising of men. The strongest castle in Northumberland is Warkworth: and I, understanding the enemy intended to have taken it, sent men thither with ammunition, and it is kept for the parliament till I know your pleasure. The Papists, and such as have been delinquents, and some that have made their compositions, with what strength they can make, do daily resort to them at Berwick: they do appoint their rendezvous daily, and several gentlemen have their parts assigned them to raise men in: there is an absolute necessity that forces be sent out of the south, many of the disbanded supernumeraries being gone in unto them. I believe that the presence of

[t] This letter is to be found in Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 1106.

the lord General[u] in these parts would conduce mu
to your service.

In matters of war, expedition is the life. I shou
not be satisfied in my own thoughts that the forc
should be so far off from these parts, knowing that
long since, which is now come to pass; but only th
all may bear you witness, there is not the least o
casion or colour given by your army for these pr
ceedings.

It is certain the lord Mansfield is gone into Sco
land; it is said, to meet his father, the earl of Ne
castle. It is reported also, Sir William Witheringt
is there. Doubtless all your northern enemies wi
come out of foreign parts, and I know no way mo
likely to prevent them than by guarding the seas wel
This coast being at present in the command of tw
or three Irish frigates, they take ships daily, an
chased a ship that brought ammunition to this ga
rison, about two days since, at least seven hours.

I hear, that there are divers horse-loads of am
munition brought into Berwick from Leith, but y
they want great guns.

Sir, I entreat you to grant a commission of oye
and terminer to Mr. Westell, Mr. Shaftoe, or who
you please, to clear the gaol at Newcastle, or else
give me leave to set the prisoners at liberty; for th

[u] Fairfax was ordered by the parliament to march to th
north; but the disturbances in Kent found him employme
nearer home.

magazine and the prison is all under one roof. I have acquainted both the gentlemen of the county, and also the town, of the absolute necessity that it be altered: but they not taking order with it, if you please to send down a commission speedily, I shall take the more care for the present; but if it come not quickly, I resolve that, for the preservation of the garrison and safety of the town, they shall not remain there, unless you command the contrary. I am,

Sir,

Your faithful servant,

ARTH. HASLERIG.

Newcastle,
May 8, 1648.

CHRISTOPHER BARRETT TO THE SPEAKER.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—It hath pleased the parliament to call me to their service. I have ever had a willing heart; but my great age, and many other unfitnesses, render me less useful and less active than the urgency and height of occasions require: but being their pleasure, I humbly submit to God, and his good providence, in what they have ordered. And, sir, having received two letters from your honour, and several orders, I, as in duty bound, present, as I am able, this my account of the same; beseeching you to represent the same to the houses, from their

(and your) servant, as occasion and opportuni offers.

Sir, The business of the 24th of April[x] was in t beginning very unruly and obstinate; so that, indee fearing the life of the messenger in hazard, and m self and his friends, especially those that waited up the parliament, being no way able to keep eith him or themselves, I entreated him to go awa hoping by his going the tumult would have be appeased: but it grew higher and higher, and the was no end of mischief, until it pleased God strike so great a stroke among them, to their ju confusion, which, seconded with the coming of so of colonel Fleetwood's regiment, sent for by so

[x] "Letters came this fast day from Norwich to colo Fleetwood, that the mayor of Norwich, being sent for to atte the parliament, the malignants opposed his going, and the pa liamenteers were for it; that both parties got into arms, a plundered many inhabitants of the city; that captain Thom Zanchie, with his troop, and some other horse of colonel Fle wood's regiment, quartered thereabouts, came into the cit They fell upon the rioters in several parties; drove them in corners, and wounded many of them; and captain Lloyd a divers of the troopers were wounded. That the rioters g possession of the magazine: and being to get out powder, t magazine was fired, and about forty of them blown up a spoiled. The blow shook the whole city, threw down part some churches, wounded and killed many of the town, and o of the troopers hurt by it: legs and arms found in the stre torn from the bodies, and about a hundred and twenty of t citizens missing. In the evening, all quieted." *Whitloc April* 26.

well affected, after a short resistance that work was ended, and we have made some progress in the examination of the business: and, as far as we can find, the ground of the business was, a petition, as was pretended, to the honourable house of commons for the mayor's stay; but it seems the end was, by raising a force thereby to make him stay; so the petition prayed, the multitude enforced. The petition was carried about by some in the very time of the height of the tumult, so that we conceive they were both birds of the same feather.

But, sir, the depth of all is not yet clearly made out; but, I doubt not, time will evince there was a greater plot in it, and a design further off than we are yet aware of. But to leave that to time, sir, May-day being come, to prevent objection, the troops of horse, who came in for our safety, the Lord be praised, being drawn into the castle yard, on pretence that a free concourse of electors might be, we proceeded to our accustomed choice of mayor; which, although the place of choice was, upon inquiry, avowed to be as full as usual, yet the work was done with that quietness and peaceableness as was wonderful; not such a choice these forty years. But let me also inform your honour, that, to preserve the right of our charter unquestioned, and to take away all occasions of enlarging or continuing the cause of this present controversy and disturbance, the day before was called a common council; where, by one common consent,

few, if any, opposing, we established that, so good and just a by-law, which therefore from licentious and refractory persons finds so much and great opposition; and according to that law declared the election of Mr. Mingay to be void, and the election of Mr. Wenman legal, according to our charter and by-law, made especially for the peace and quiet of the city, restraining popular elections, mostly, if not continually, disquiet, factious, and perilous: in which we assure ourselves we have done only what conduces to the peace of this city, and thereby of the kingdom, and therefore we hope of your approbation.

Give me leave further to inform the house, that there is one Blomfield, an officer of the city, now with the mayor at London, who, it is likely, can give information of much of the carriage of this business, being an officer in the mayor's house; and, I should think, he will deal truly.

I have four petitions brought in, wherein, as far as I can gain information, all the agitators for hand, and those that handed it, are all or most disaffected persons, not one that I can hear of otherwise. We have (in the great sense of the Almighty's goodness to this poor city, and his infinite deliverance of us; for in a word, sir, give leave abruptly to say, not an honest man slain in the blowing up of the house: there were three families in it, consisting of, as I am informed, twenty-four persons, divers neighbours next of many persons, all overwhelmed in the same ruins,

some lying above four hours buried up alive, all miraculously preserved, not one slain, all the other dead, we hear not of one in the house escaped alive; above forty persons already taken up, and how many more shall we know not, besides broken shattered pieces blown far and nigh, abundance,) for this we have appointed a day of thanksgiving to Almighty.

Sir, I am as unworthy of, as unfit for, the service I am by their honours put upon: but I shall hope you will give assistance, and there shall not want the utmost endeavour of your humble servant,

CHRISTOPHER BARRETT.

[Norwich,]
May 4, 1648.

COLONEL HAMMOND TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—I took the boldness lately to trouble you with a long letter, touching the affairs of this place; but since understanding that your businesses have been such as have prevented your communicating to the house that my advice, my sense of my duty presses me to importune you to present this, which may acquaint you, that, as I wrote to you in my last, it is of absolute concernment to the security of this so considerable a place, that the reparations and further fortifications of this castle and Sandham fort, already begun, be carried through to perfection.

You were pleased so well to resent this, when I

first endeavoured to possess you of it, that you ordered £1000 towards the carrying on of this work, £500 of which I have only received. Now that being so nigh spent, that it will not last beyond fourteen days further, as by an exact account I shall make appear, the necessity of the work, and the season of the year requiring it, causeth me humbly to desire you, that the other £500 may be immediately speeded hither, and that you will please to appoint £1500 more for the finishing the work, and the providing of a granary, and laying in of corn and other provision of victuals, most necessary appurtenances to so considerable a place.

Sir, Give me leave to inform you also, that notwithstanding the various rumours, which I understand have been spread abroad, this island is in a very quiet and good temper; and I am sure I may say truly, and that without prejudice to the best affected part of the kingdom, that it is as conformable to your commands as any place in England; and I hope, through the blessing of God, will ever so continue.

For their encouragement, I humbly am bold to mind you, that care be taken of the execution of that good order you were pleased to make, that there may be constantly a month's pay advanced in hand for the pay of the soldiers; and that the £1000 *per mensem* formerly ordered (as I understand) for the expense of the king's family, and the maintaining of

two hundred men more, for the further guards of this place, may be accordingly constantly and duly paid; which will not only secure the country from burden, but will, I doubt not, fully defray the charge of the family, and sufficiently satisfy the said two hundred men: which addition of men it is neither convenient nor safe to be without, during such time as you shall judge it fit to continue the person of the king here, which makes me the more earnestly press, that this advance of money may not be wanting during such time.

Sir, I must be bold to trouble you with a difference upon an account which can only be set right by you, which is this. Upon the first coming over hither of the two companies of the army, appointed by the General for the necessary defence and security of the king's person and this place, I was necessitated to add the soldiers formerly in the forts and castles to my company, there to muster, and pay them for their subsistence, having no other provision for them; by no means thinking it safe to disband them, which otherwise must have been done, they having been above a year before that without pay, and never having received one day's free quarter, almost to the starving of themselves, their wives, and families; most of them being so related, being islanders. And here, by the way, give me leave to acquaint you, that the moneys for their supplies you were pleased to order them out of the delinquent fines, about the late tumult and rebellion of captain Burley, is

not a penny of it paid, nor like to be suddenly, so that these poor men continue still in sad want, which I beseech you may be considered some other way.

Now they having been thus mustered and paid, and upon duty every man from that time to this, and of absolute necessity so to be continued, my humble suit to you is, that my accompt (which is exact to a man) may be so taken by the committee of the army for what is past; and if you shall judge that not fit, then what exceeds the pay of two private companies, consisting of two hundred men, (which is all the said committee is pleased to say they can allow payment to, upon their order,) may be paid some other way, the money being so justly and necessarily expended already. What this will amount unto, I have lately sent unto Mr. Scawen a particular; since which only I have paid them a month's pay more.

Sir, However you shall please to determine these particulars, it will be some satisfaction to me, that in this my second importunity I do but my duty: which, through the grace of God, I shall never be wanting in, while you think me worthy of any the least trust; but shall most cordially endeavour to give all due obedience to your commands, with such an affection and duty as best becomes,

Sir,

Your most faithful and humble servant,

Ro. Hammond.

Carisbrooke Castle,
May 5, 1648.

COLONEL RIGBY TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—The report of the surprising of Berwick by the English cavaliers, come out of Scotland, with the great acclamations and resort of the people of Northumberland unto them, is come to us with an assurance of their taking of Carlisle,[y] and many strongholds in Westmoreland and Cumberland, and their absolute command of those two counties; at their entrance into which, their numbers are, by our most credible intelligence, given unto us to exceed seven thousand.

This day, as was discovered unto me, was a day privily appointed for a general rising at once of all the papists and delinquents in this county of Lancashire, to have cut the throats of all your friends here. My uttermost endeavours for the public have nor shall be wanting; but the obstructions are these: that upon the orders for disbanding, and against free quarter, neither committee or deputy-lieutenant, that they can meet with, is (say what I can) confident to believe they have any power to list, arm, or array men, or to make provision for quarter or other necessaries; and therein many are afraid of a misexposition, that they shall be taken for beginners or fomenters of a new war, though it be to provide against the Cumberland rebels. I have, where I

[y] Carlisle was surprised by sir Philip Musgrave, at the same time that sir M. Langdale had got possession of Berwick.

avoidable; to seize victuals and horses, and other things, where we see a necessity; and for them or other things, that shall be voluntarily advanced, give the public faith. We want match, powder, and arms: we want some ready money, there is a necessity that you send us presently some money. I wish not this money to come into my hands: I never yet suffered any penny of Lancashire money to come through them.

Sir, We writ to you the last week, but have not yet received any thing from you. I heard from one, that you have signed a letter to me; but I have not received it.

Sir, Pardon me, I pray you, (I conceive it my duty, I am sure it is out of good affection,) to tell you that a final settlement of the government is generally expected; and that I (by all I hear out of the walls) conceive it unsafe to continue the king a prisoner, in the opinion of the people; and that it is not safe to rely upon no other strength than what is in your army, how formidable soever you account it.

And now, that God may protect you, and it, and us, and direct you with his Holy Spirit in all things, is the unfeigned prayer of

Your faithful and most humble servant,

ALEX. RIGBY.

Manchester,
May 6, 1648.

Sir, It will be most needful that colonel Lambert,

and what forces can be sent unto him, be commanded forthwith to look upon Westmoreland and Cumberland, because I cannot yet assure you what aid we can contribute to him.

SIR ARTHUR HASLERIG TO THE SPEAKER.

Mr. Speaker,—The cavaliers do suffer the Scotch mail to pass through Berwick without meddling with it. I think it may be of ill consequence to the parliament: for by that means your enemies in Berwick may have full intelligence of your affairs out of all parts of the kingdom, and also drive on their own design. But I shall not hinder it, till I know your pleasure.

I have here inclosed a letter sent to me from captain Ball: he doth very good service. It is certain he hath taken an Irish frigate: he gave the chase to two, and took the bigger of them. It is of absolute necessity that ships be sent speedily to these coasts. They expect at Berwick two ships, one from Scotland and another from Holland, with arms and ammunition. And upon the coming of captain Ball to Berwick, they sent some cobles, to give notice to all Scottish ships coming that way, that there was a parliament ship; and to wish them to put in at Heymouth, which is about seven miles from Berwick, in Scotland.

I have sent up a packet that came from your commissioners, brought me by the express I sent your letters by; but I doubt there will be no more conveyance that way.

The papists and cavaliers do flock together to Berwick, and tax and assess the country; and are likely to rise to a great number, if not speedily prevented.

Sir,

Your faithful servant,

ARTH. HASLERIG.

Newcastle,
May 6, 1648.

CAPTAIN BATTEN TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—In my last, I acquainted you with the cavaliers' possession of Berwick; and ever since they have been very active to draw on their design. All the gentlemen in these parts, which have been formerly for the king, are gone in unto them, and have commanded their servants and tenants also. They summon the country to rendezvous, for to settle the commission of array. They went about to repair the breaches of the walls; but on Tuesday last, captain Andrew Ball, in the Adventure frigate, was so bold to toss in ninety-four balls into Berwick, which put them from their works, shot away one arm

of the windmill, and divers others took place in houses.

Sir, I believe they are not so strong as it is supposed, and therefore they go about to work by treachery, as you may see by this inclosed from sir Marmaduke Langdale[z] unto me; the which when I received, I read before all the soldiers at the parade.

Sir, I do utterly abhor and detest them and their treacherous designs; and, as long as life shall last, shall endeavour, to the utmost of my power, to keep it for you.[a] The country is so overawed by them, that they will not suffer any provision or coals to be brought into this island: therefore I humbly beseech you, that there may be some speedy supply sent of money and provision, for the better encouragement of the soldiers; and I doubt not but (with God's assistance) I shall be able to give you a good accompt of this place.

Thus, craving pardon for my boldness herein, I remain, who am,

Sir,

Your honour's most humble servant,

R. BATTEN.

Holy Island,
May 6, 1648.

[z] See before, p. 395, note *s*.

[a] Batten, not long after this, revolted; was knighted and made rear-admiral by the prince of Wales.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—Since my last concerning the two regiments at Whitehall and the Mews,[b] I understand that the city of London have offered to supply a sufficient guard for the parliament, so soon as the forces of the army should withdraw; and that they have chosen major-general Skippon for the command of their militia: and finding some inconvenience in the further stay of those two regiments there, and that, as your affairs now stand, they may be more serviceable elsewhere, I thought it very necessary to remind you of that business; and desire to know the pleasure of the house, whether I may not yet order those two regiments to withdraw from the Mews and Whitehall, and appoint them to other service, whereof there is need. I remain

Your humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Windsor Castle,
May 7, 1648.

SIR ARTHUR HASLERIG TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—The enemy increaseth, especially in Westmoreland and Cumberland, and those parts. Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and those at Berwick, have sent letters to all that have been heretofore in the king's service, commanding them, in the king's name,

[b] See before, p. 394.

and upon their allegiance, to repair to them; and they have their daily musters in the further parts of Northumberland. I find the great want amongst us, to raise men here, is, none can give commissions; and the men in these parts have tasted so much of the misery of war, that there are very few but will take up arms; and we not having commissions to take them in to us, they will be compelled to go in to the enemy.

I humbly entreat, if you think it fit, that either my lord general, or the committee at Derby house, may forthwith send down blank commissions, both for colonels, captains, and other officers of horse and foot, which will prevent your enemy from many men in these parts.

I writ you word of captain Ball's taking the bigger Irish frigate: two seamen told me that they saw him take her; but as yet I hear it not from himself, which makes me doubt it: but he took three small barks from them, that are now in Holy Isle; two loaden with corn, and one with coal; and the owners have since been with me, and are to receive them, paying their usual duties.

Captain Ball doth very great service at Berwick: they are not yet armed. It is necessary to send him, with all speed, some ships to assist him; for the enemy threatens to bring six ships against him: and a great part of the wall of Berwick being fallen down towards the sea, ships will be of great use to prevent the sudden making of it up.

Sir, If the house please to have a magazine of arms and ammunition here at this place, all your forces that shall come out of the north, or shall be raised in all the northern countries, may have a supply from hence. I am,

Sir,

Your faithful servant,

ARTH. HASLERIG.

Newcastle,
May 9, 1648.

MR. SANCROFT TO DR. HOLDSWORTH.

REVEREND AND MOST HONOURED SIR,—I could not send away this gentleman, Mr. Henry Proby, to London, without an express injunction to wait upon you. You were first pleased to commend him to me: give me leave now to recommend him to you again, and to thank you for the content I take in him.

He is in his principles so right and square, in his performances as a scholar so exact and elegant, and in all his carriage so much a gentleman, that he challengeth my love and esteem, *ex congruo et condigno*, above all the pupils that ever came under my care, and hath rendered himself remarkable, and gained the fairest garlands by common vote; and that in a place where (to say no more) nothing useth to be the more highly esteemed for being mine.

I the rather oblige him to tender himself to you,

hoping that you will hence conjecture how gladly I should myself have waited upon you in your bonds,[c] had not a long indisposition in point of health, and a necessity of performing my exercises in order to my degree, rendered me here a prisoner also.

Angeli vereantur catenas Pauli, saith the father: and certainly, sir, to all right apprehenders, your sufferings must needs appear glorious, in which you are so far conformable to your Saviour, that the very preaching of his passion is become the cause of yours. Wretched men! who pretend the inspiration of the Third Person, to justify their contempt of the satisfaction of the Second, and the mercy of all Three. And whereas there is one good day in the year, the blood of which might expiate the guilt of the innocent blood spilt wickedly in all the rest, will needs have that to be *dies nefastus, in quo non liceat fari tria verba.* Plainly like the madman that spills the potion, and treads the antidote under foot. But see how He infatuates them, and, even in that wherein they deal proudly, is above them. While they would shew their dislike at your passion sermon of an hour,

[c] Holdsworth had been released from his first imprisonment in the tower, (see before, p. 4.) and been in attendance on the king at Hampton court during the latter part of 1647. But when the parliament, in January 1648, voted that no more addresses should be made to the king, he preached against that resolution, and was in consequence a second time imprisoned, but shortly released. The offensive sermon does not seem to have been printed.

they have made yourself a continual passion sermon, whose sound too is no longer confined within one congregation, but goes out into all quarters of the land. And whereas one Good-Friday in a year was thought too much, they have now taken the direct course, by your imprisonment, to make the whole year a perpetual Good-Friday, in which you should fulfil τὰ ἐξαγγέλματα, what is believed of the passion of your Saviour.

Blessed be God, who hath honoured you so far, as to make you a sufferer for preaching of the cross, and for not holding your peace in a day of so good tidings. Doubtless, invisible comforts flow in upon you, and strong supports, able to render you more than conqueror through Him that strengthens you, so that posterity shall speak of you in their songs, as St. Cyprian whilome of Celerinus, (Epist. xxx. 3.) *Jacuit inter pœnas pœnis suis fortior, inclusus includentibus major, jacens stantibus celsior, vincientibus firmior vinctus, sublimior judicantibus judicatus, et quamvis ligati nervo pedes essent, calcatus serpens et obtritus et victus est.* And in this happy omen I humbly take my leave; beseeching the God of heaven to preserve and restore you, for the advancement of his own glory, and for the comfort of his poor languishing church amongst us. So prays,

Reverend Sir,

The humblest of your servants,

May 11, 1648. W. S.

Northumberland: they had taken a castle in the middle of the county, but our forces caused them to quit the place, and I have since fully slighted it. There are two broken Scotch troops come into England, under major Hume and captain Crew: they lie upon the borders, at Cornhill and Wexham, hoping to recruit amongst us.

Sir John Fenwick and his son, and divers gentlemen of Northumberland, that are deputy-lieutenants, do raise what horse and foot we can, and give commissions; having, as we conceive, the same power that belongs to the lord lieutenant, he being absent.

The enemy intended about Monday last to have taken Hartlepool, and then the county of Durham had been under their power; but it pleased God to give forces sent by me the first possession, and I hope it shall be kept for your service.

Most of the honest people in Cumberland and Northumberland are fled from their houses, and those counties are in a very miserable condition. The sheriff's wife of Cumberland came on foot, in a poor habit, crying to me for to relieve her husband. It was a trouble to me to see one of her quality in such misery; but I then told her that I did hope speedy relief would come out of the south.

The town and county of Newcastle have no militia. The mayor and aldermen desire that an ordinance may be immediately sent to them, and that the commissioners nominated for the £60,000 per month

may be for the militia; and that, if the house please, Mr. Blakiston may send it down.

Sir, You are entreated by divers gentlemen of the county of Durham to present this inclosed petition to the house; and also that Thomas Sanderson, Thomas Holyman, William Butler, Jo. Middleton, George Grayson, and Roger Kirkbye, esquires, all gentlemen of good quality, may be added to the committee for sequestrations. I assure you, sir, there is very great need of it, for very few of the gentlemen of the county that were in arms against you have been sequestered, and most of them are now gone to the enemy. I am,

Sir,

Your affectionate and faithful servant,

ARTHUR HASLERIG.

Newcastle,
May 18, 1648.

VICE-ADMIRAL RAINSBOROUGH[d] TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—The last night, about two hours after the watch was set, there came in a great fleet

[d] Rainsborough, whom we have hitherto seen under the character of colonel in the army, had lately been made vice-admiral. The earl of Warwick, and Batten, formerly admiral and vice-admiral, were both stout Presbyterians; but the Independents getting the upper hand, removed them, to make

of ships from the westward, and in one of them the prince of Wales.[c] He was in very mean apparel: so soon as he landed, he went away to Sandwich, and now is at the Bell in that town, declaring himself to be the prince. Many people flock thither to kiss his hand. I dare not take time to write more; but subscribe myself

Your most humble and faithful servant,

THO. RAINSBOROUGH.

May 20, 1648.

I have sent to the magistrates of Sandwich to continue him there till your pleasure: but what they will do, I know not.

THE MAYOR OF ROCHESTER TO THE PARLIAMENT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOURS,—The common people (inhabitants within this city) having received

way for their partisan Rainsborough. The consequence was, the revolt of the fleet. Warwick, however, remained steadfast to the parliament, and was re-appointed to the command of the army. Batten revolted to prince Charles.

[c] The prince, about this time, sailed into the Thames, but did not land. It was referred to the committee at Derby house to examine the business to which this letter refers, and to send for this pretended prince of Wales. See *Whitlocke, May* 22.

a report that the committee of this county had privately sent for a regiment of horse and foot, (to be quartered here,) for the stifling of a petition intended to be humbly presented to this honourable house from this county of Kent, and for fining and plundering the petitioners; together with expresses of one of the said committee, to have two of the chiefest of the petitioners in every parish hanged;[f] and of another, that would not step cross the way to save all the souls in this city; and having been burdened with a constant guard, consisting of fourteen men every day and night, by the space of four years together, besides the charge of powder, match, and other provisions, for which, though promised, they could never as yet receive satisfaction; and having been often oppressed for several months with free quarter and other great charges, occasioned by the quartering and removal of soldiers, and yet their taxes, (proportionable to all parts of this county,) which have been free, exactly levied upon them; being exasperated by such facts, expressions, and sufferings, thought the same to be a sufficient warrant unto them to stand upon their own guard, (as this last night they did,) declaring (as we assure ourselves their intentions were) only to defend themselves and estate from violence and plunder by

[f] The houses sent down the earl of Thanet to quiet the rioters in Kent, by assuring them "that the houses have no such intent as the malignants have given out, two of every town of them." *Whitlocke, May* 24.

soldiers, and not otherwise: yet lest this course (by any uncertain relation) might beget an opinion that there was something thereby intended to disturb the peace and quiet of this county, we are bold humbly to offer to this honourable house, this, as the truth of what hath been acted and was intended; and do humbly pray, that as by your diligence and care, and the mediation of captain Lee and captain Westroe, members of this honourable house, the people are already pacified, so by your wisdoms some course may be taken to satisfy the great charge which this city hath been at by the said four years' guard and other burdens before mentioned; and some assurance given that there is no intention of this honourable house to move the people to any fears of soldiers to be brought upon them: by which means, we doubt not that the quiet and peace of this place will be preserved for the future, and a ready conformity and obedience to this honourable house yielded by the people and by us, as well to the late ordinance touching the manner of addresses to the honourable houses by petitioners, as otherwise.

Sir,

We are your humble servants,

PHIL. WARD, Mayor.

Rochester,
May 21, 1648.

JOB WEALE TO THE EARL OF DOVER.

My Lord,—Since I spoke with your honour, I was with my lord Fairfax at Windsor, and despatched the business with him; the particular account whereof I will render, God willing, to the county at their next meeting.

I could not get from thence until about four of the clock on Saturday; and, for want of good horses and a guide, I could not make Farnham until six on Sunday morning. I thought it fit therefore to take post horses and a guide to Portsmouth. You shall have an account as soon as I can despatch the business with his majesty: in the mean time, I desire your lordship to communicate to sir Edmund Bowyer and Mr. Price as much, as soon as possible you can; and desire them to use their best endeavours that sir Richard Onslow and sir Ambrose Browne may be entreated to give a meeting to the county in general the next Wednesday, at the furthest, on Eysham common, by ten of the clock in the morning, that the county advise with them how they may give satisfaction to the parliament concerning the petition, and what to do therein, and hereof that they would not fail. At which time, God willing, I will be there with instructions from his majesty, for our safe and secure proceedings, and satisfaction to all those that shall make any objections thereunto.

And I beseech you, that order may be taken that

the examinations of the county, for their injuries and the true cause thereof, upon oath, may be ready against the same time. And so, in post haste, I remain, in the oath of a soldier, your lordship's friend and servant to command for my country and country's good: and the word is the anagram of my name, obey law.

JOB WEALE.

Farnham,
May 21, 1648.

COLONEL HAMMOND[g] [TO THE COMMITTEE AT DERBY HOUSE.]

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—The last night, there came hither one Job Weale, a physician, as he calls himself, living at Kingston upon Thames; he came hither upon post horses, pretending to come in great haste from my lord general, employed by him to me on business of highest concernment: he counterfeited himself at the first in a fainting fit, by reason of hard riding, and that he could not declare his business to me till he had drank some hot water to recover his spirits; which preamble (being ill managed)

[g] This letter has been already printed, but from a different original, amongst some letters of Hammond and others, published in 1764. There are, however, some passages more in this than in the other, and other variations, sufficient to justify its being inserted in this collection.

to his business made me suspect him to be a knave, (as I afterwards more plainly found him.) So soon as he feigned to come to himself, he began to tell me that his business imported the safety of my life, and, that which was dearer to me, the great charge in my hands, the security of the person of the king; and that to this end I should immediately remove the king to Portsmouth, to major Lobb, to whom he had directions to receive him: that otherwise the king would be violently taken hence the next morning, by four of the clock, and myself a dead man; for, to his knowledge, the design was so laid; and it was thus. That there was a fleet of ships at sea near this coast, that were to come in between the island and the lee shore that evening, who were to land in the night; and that great numbers were to come out of the mainland, pretending occasions at a fair, which was to be kept at Newport on the morrow, who should assist therein; and at the same time, all the beacons in the island were to be set on fire, and to raise the country for the king; and if not, to amaze them with fear, that so they might the better carry on their design; which there was no way to avoid, but as he had given me direction.

When he had concluded his tale, I inquired of him, whether he had any thing in writing to confirm it? He told me, that his instructions to me were entrusted to him to communicate only by word of mouth; but he had instructions in writing, quilted up in his waist-

coat, for major Lobb. I desired him to let me see them. He told me, his order was only to communicate them to major Lobb. I said, I must see them. He refusing, I told him, I apprehended he had other business here, and if he would not immediately let me know it, I must take another course with him; whereupon I caused him to be strictly searched, and found only these papers about him. That letter from him without superscription or direction, he saith was to my lord of Dover; the rest petitions, and some notes of instruction of his own.

When he found his idle plot would not take, and that he was discovered, he told me he would deal ingenuously with me, and would tell me truly, his business was principally by this means to gain an interest with me, that so he might speak with the king, to procure leave from him, that the county of Surry (from whom he was sent to that purpose) might have his majesty's approbation to choose a commander-in chief, under whom to put their county in a posture of defence; upon his way, he stopped a post going from Portsmouth to London, with this inclosed packet, which, if your lordships please, may be speedily delivered, being about victual for the navy. I perceive, by discourse with him, that he hath been a great promoter of the late Surry petition, and an agent of the malignants there.

My lords, I take this occasion to let your lordships know, that I wrote formerly to the General for

a company or two of foot more, for the better security of this island from any sudden accident that may happen from sea, which it seems he hath not thought fit to spare.

I desire your lordships that, if you shall approve of it, there may be another company or two more raised, and maintained during this occasion some other way; and that some force may lie in Hampshire, near the water side, in the room of those lately removed thence, to be ready upon occasion to be transported hither. The two companies, to be paid out of the remainder of the £30 per diem, I am now a raising; but fear I shall be much troubled myself with them, and the island more, by reason the money comes not so constantly and duly as were to be wished, for there is no keeping soldiers in very good order without money beforehand, where there is no free quarter.

I desire also, that, for the better ordering of those companies here already and to be raised, and for my own ease, if you shall think fit, that I may have a major under me, and pay allowed for him during this occasion. I desire it may be captain Rolph,[h] who hath a company here already; who is an honest, faithful, and careful man, and who taketh a great deal of pains, and deserves encouragement: the addition of major's pay to him will be little, and not worth

[h] See Clarendon's account of this captain Rolph, vol. vi. p. 194.

speaking of; but so much deserved by him, and such an officer so necessary for me, that makes me beg of your lordships it may be moved in the houses, if it cannot otherwise be done.

Here is now but one ship riding before this island for the guard of it; and the captain of her hath this day sent me word, that he is to go in to victual upon Wednesday next.

I desire that care may be taken that we may not, in these times of trouble, be without a sea guard.

My Lords,

I am your lordships' most faithful humble servant,

Ro. Hammond.

Carisbrooke Castle,
May 22, 1648.

C. PAMAN [TO MR. SANCROFT.]

Sir,—I am going next week towards Berkshire, and have satisfied myself in every thing but in taking my leave of you. My time is so short, and my business so crossly laid, that I know not possibly how I shall come to Cambridge. My earnest desire is, that you will be pleased to give me that which I know not how to give myself; that is, the happiness of your company.

I beseech you, sir, bring Cambridge to Bensfield; and if music, if the company of Mr. Ansell and Mr. Sparrow be any invitations, I promise you both, next

Thursday, at Mr. North's, who I am confident will take it for a favour from you. I desire you will not deny me. Three hours' riding will bring you hither and fully satisfy me: grudge me not therefore so great a content, for fourteen miles.

Sir, I will leave further importunity, and confidently expect you to-morrow night; when I will for this, and all other your dearnesses to me, solemnly profess myself

Your very real friend,
C. PAMAN.

May 23, 1648.

SIR JOHN FINCH[1] [TO HIS WIFE].

MY DEAR BEST HEART,—I have received thine of the 12th of this month, being glad to find by it that there is no likelihood of any more commotions in London: but for my part, when I consider how distempered the people's minds are, I cannot be without fear; and perhaps the retreating of the army may rather minister occasion and encouragement than otherwise. That the rising in Wales was suppressed

[1] I conclude that the writer of this letter is lord-keeper Finch, who had retired to Holland at the beginning of the war, to avoid the impeachment he so well deserved, for his servile prostitution of the judical office in the case of ship-money. See *Clarendon*, vol. i. p. 130, 310.

by the parliament's forces, came hither in letters on Saturday: but some of them make it but a surprise of some straggling forces, or rather club-men unarmed; others will needs have it believed, that after that surprise, or defeat, the prisoners taken were rescued, and a defeat given to some of the parliament forces. This contrariety of news and balancing of reports is very usual here, which makes us not absolutely credit any thing till it be confirmed by the letters of two weeks.

Here is much talk of the great distemper in Essex, and of other counties associating with them.

The Scots are by some confidently believed to have marched into England on Monday now last past, which they say was the time by them prefixed so to do. Berwick and Carlisle are seized some weeks since, by Langdale, Glemham, and Musgrave, that heretofore served in the king's army; and Newcastle is said to be in danger of coming into their hands also. Thus all things, in truth or in rumour, tend to distractions, and to a new war; so as thy stay, in hope of an accommodation, as thou sayest, will, I believe, be fruitless: but I doubt not, between this and midsummer, to be able, out of the contemplation of affairs, to give thee positive directions for thy stay or coming over. In the mean, I am sorry thou art stayed so by private occasions that thou can'st not be ready when thou would'st. For Thanet-land, I perceive those difficulties I prognosticated appear:

that Charles Fotherby's wife will not join in the assurance; which, with those other considerations I have formerly expressed, will, I believe, make thee resolve to take up no further thoughts of that business.

How to dispose of that which thou did'st intend for dealing therein, I cannot advise thee otherwise than I formerly have. Annuities for years or lives I can by no means learn are in these countries to be had; were they, I should, for certainty's sake, give rather more than in England. Of the rates and years purchases there, I have in former letters said as much to thee as I can, and should be glad thou could'st dispose of it some way or other in that kind. For it is by no means safe to leave it in London, how low soever the exchange at this time be.

I was told, a good while since, of a motion made to one hereabout, furnishing thy nephew Palmer with some money, upon a lease for years, or some such way; but in that thou knowest more than I do, and can'st better judge what were fit therein or not. The chiefest caution in things of that nature is, as near as one can, to be sure to deal with an honest man; for they that deal with others commonly purchase nothing but troubles.

I should be glad there were any good way found out to increase our yearly proportion, else we may by degrees consume our principal subsistence, though I hope not as long as I live; but my care is no whit less for thee: and living thus asunder, I am persuaded

we spend almost, if not altogether, double that we should do were we together.

The timber thou hast provided for Esteward mill, is, as times are, if it be very good, not over dear; only let some take care the mill be well and sufficiently repaired with it.

Present my love and service to my worthy true friend sir John Dingley, with whom I hope thou mayest be ready to come over when he doth. The letter of attorney I perceive was only for Moate, and that there must be more besides it; of which (setting aside that of Ozingell Grange, which belongs only to thee) I see no great necessity, and think one in general would have served the turn. However, let it be as he desires it, to whom it is to be made.

For Pallingswick, the writings will tell thee, that my cousin Frank Finch, and thy brother Fotherby, are the feoffees. For Ancott, were things by an ordinary course of law guided, I could give thee some reasonable directions: but, as things stand, I am not able to give thee any advice; only, if thou can'st not obtain possession, and settle it, let not that alone stay thy coming hither. We must be content, if we cannot otherwise prevail; and, as thou truly sayest, our plain and downright ways no whit advantage us in the world.

Present my humble service to my lord North, whom I ever looked upon as a very noble gentleman, and my good friend. I am sorry to hear Nan Morgan

hath involved herself so in troubles, that she is not at her own dispose. A little with quietness, as thou sayest, is much to be valued, and I gave her that advice; but it seems it came too late. Remember me to her and Betty Modyford, and all my friends and thine, which I am sure must ever be the same; for I am, and will ever be, in that and all other respects, one with thee, as befits him that is

Thy most affectionate and truly loving

Jo. Finch.

Haghe,
May 25, 1648.

I prythee, let this letter to my lord of Winchelsea be sent to Thomas Walker, to convey unto his lordship.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE COMMITTEE AT DERBY HOUSE.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—Having received the votes of the house of commons of this day, by which I find the regiments at the Mews, Whitehall, and the Tower, to be set free from their present duty, and left to your lordships' disposal for other service hereabouts, I thought good to represent to your lordships the opinion of myself and the officers here, that it is not safe or advisable to engage those regiments, or any part of them, upon any service by

themselves, in relation to your present great insurrections; but it is our humble advice and desire, that your lordships will take order that they may speedily be drawn forth this way, to-morrow, in order to rendezvous with the rest of our small body, about Hounslow Heath, that we may be once embodied together; and then as we shall be more considerable for any service, so we shall be ready with the whole to be at your lordships' commands. To receive which, in order to your managing and carrying on of the present business, I have, according to a letter from the speaker of the house of commons, (for the sending of some person to consult with the committee at Derby house,) appointed colonel Hewson to attend your lordships for that purpose, having no other whom I could at present spare: and there being likewise much need of his speedy return, I desire he may receive a despatch from your lordships as soon as may be. I remain

Your lordships' humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Windsor Castle,
May 26, 1648.

I cannot but mind your lordships again, of the great necessity of some present assignment of moneys for the better fortifying and victualling of this castle.

MR. RUSHWORTH TO THE SPEAKER.

As the General was marching up Shooter's hill, to see how the enemy had placed their guards, a trumpeter came from them, desiring my lord to grant a pass to their commissioners, to treat according to order of parliament, signed, Tho. Peyton.

The trumpeter said, that squire Hales was their general, sir Tho. Peyton, lieutenant-general, and sir Jo. Many, major-general.

His excellency returned answer,[k] by a trumpeter of his own, that whilst they continued in arms without and against the authority of parliament, and doing acts of hostility to the disturbance of the peace, &c., he could not admit of a treaty, nor lose time in prosecution of them; but if they shall forthwith lay down arms and disperse themselves, he doubted not of the mercy of the parliament to those who were abused and deluded, and of their justice against such only as shall appear to have been the chief and most eminent actors and fomenters of this rebellion.

And accordingly, that no time might be lost in prosecution of them, major Husband was sent with a party of horse, who fell on some of the rear, within half a mile of Dartford, who fired on our men. There

[k] See Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 1133.

were three killed of the enemy, nine taken, and four good horses. The prisoners confessed that their whole body is marched towards Rochester, and that Dartford was quit. But by reason it was night, it was not held fit to possess Dartford. The General quartered this night at Eltham, to refresh the foot, who have been put to hard marches, and endured much wet weather.

To-morrow they advance after the enemy, and to make sure the relief of Dover. The intelligence out of the Weald of Kent, of major Gibbon's advance thither, being not confirmed from his own hand, though we no ways doubt of the truth. I remain

Yours, &c.

J. RUSHWORTH.

Eltham,
May 30, 1648;
ten at night.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

SIR,—The General came this day, about twelve o'clock, to Blackheath, his own regiment and colonel Whalley's with him; the foot and train are about two miles behind. Colonel Rich and colonel Barkstead possessed themselves of the heath betimes; the enemy is on the other side of Shooter's hill: they have killed one of colonel Rich's men, and we have taken thirty,

with their arms, but hurt none of them. A good party of horse and foot is gone to force them from the other side of the hill; and when the whole army is drawn up, there will be some sudden action: but most of the cunning cavaliers, who see their danger, have deserted them.

The party of horse the General sent through Sussex, to relieve Dover castle, hath good success; the particulars you shall have at night.

Sir,

Your humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Blackheath,
May 30, 1648;
twelve o'clock.

R. WELLER [TO MR. SANCROFT.]

DEAR SIR,—I must answer your most welcome letter, as I use to do your other courtesies, viz. returning only a line or two for so many excellent ones of yours; and then guess, in what capacity or condition am I, to essay an acquittal for those incomparable passages it contained? I am utterly at a loss what to say or write, being grown such a bankrupt in my accompts with yourself and the noble professor, that I cannot with honesty entreat your patience, promising hereafter (which is impossible) to pay all.

Well, 'tis no small contentment to me that you are once more in good health: I wish heartily you would teach me by your example, what you do most effectually by your letter. I approve altogether of your advice, and endeavour to practise accordingly; but my encouragement will be still greater if you can tell how to leave studying, *medice*.

I confess I have received some harm since my coming hither, not by study, but for want of company, and that unparalleled society which I enjoyed at Cambridge; I therefore long to be with you again, and am now only busied in contriving my journey towards you.

I must again trouble you with my due services and thanks to Dr. Bokenham, Mrs. Bainbridge, and her family. Somewhat I scribble to the professor, but his goodness will incline him to pardon all the infirmities of a man in my condition: instead of news, I am only able to send you a bundle of lies. Part of the army is in Essex, part gone to relieve Dover. Pontefract castle[1] in Yorkshire (a place of great strength and consideration) was taken, on Friday night last, by some adventurous gentlemen for the king: this

[1] "About twenty of the king's party came with corn, and frocks over their clothes, pretending to supply Pontefract castle: and bearing arms under their frocks, they seized upon the main guard, part of whom they had corrupted; and another party of the king's lying in ambuscade near hand, entered and surprised the castle." *Whitlocke, June* 6.

I am confident is true, because a messenger came from thence to inform the speaker thereof. They talk of two ships more revolted; of the Scots being on their march for England. A party from Carlisle, commanded by colonel Carnaby, surprised major Shaftoe at Bywell in Northumberland; took him, twenty horse and men; £700 which he had been collecting for cess. With such like relations I could weary you, but I defer till our meeting, which God hasten: interim, I am, as always,

Sir,

Your most affectionate servant,

R. W.

Gray's Inn,
June 7, 1648.

THE KING TO THE COMMITTEES OF THE SCOTCH PARLIAMENT.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—It is no small comfort to me, that my native country hath so true a sense of my present condition, as I find expressed by your letter of the 8th of this month, and declaration, both which I received on Friday last: and the same reason which makes you discreetly and generously at this time forbear to press any thing to me, hinders me likewise to make particular professions unto you, lest it may be imagined that desire of liberty should be the only secretary to my thoughts. Yet thus

much I cannot but say, that as in all human reason nothing but a free personal treaty with me can settle the unhappy distractions of the distressed kingdom; so, if that could once be had, I would not doubt but that (by the grace of God) a happy peace would follow; such force I believe true reason hath in the hearts of all men, when it may be clearly and calmly heard; and I am not ashamed at all times to profess, that it hath, and so shall be always, want of understanding, not will, if I do not yield to reason, whensoever and from whomsoever I have it. And it were a strange thing, should reason be less esteemed because it comes from me, which truly I do not expect from you. Your declaration seeming to me (and I hope that your actions will prove that I am not deceived) to be so well grounded upon honour and justice, that albeit, by way of opinion, I cannot give a *placet* to every clause in it, yet I am confident, upon a calm and friendly debate, we shall very well agree.

To conclude, I cannot for the present better shew my thankfulness to you, for the generous and loyal expressions of your affections to me, than by giving you my honest and hearty advice; which is, really and constantly (without seeking private ends) to pursue the public professions in your declaration, as sincere Christians and good subjects ought to do; always remembering, that as the best foundation of loyalty is Christianity, so true Christianity teaches

perfect loyalty; and without this just reciprocation, neither is truly what they pretend to be. But I am confident that this needs not to you, as also that you will rightly understand this, which is affectionately intended by

Your most assured, real, constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Carisbrooke,
July 31, 1648.

THE EARL OF WARWICK TO THE COMMITTEE AT DERBY HOUSE.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—I have received your lordships' letters of the 28th July, wherein came inclosed the order of both houses, bearing date the same day; and shall not be wanting (through the strength of God) faithfully to put their commands in execution. I also received, in a letter from some members of this honourable committee, the copies of some papers concerning captain Green,[m] seized on by the forces under command of sir Miles Lindsay. The securing of Green and his company, will be, I conceive, very useful; which I humbly offer to your lordships' consideration.

[m] Captain Green commanded a ship under a commission from prince Charles; and was taken prisoner off Margate. *Whitlocke, July* 28.

I have discovered one or two ill affected persons amongst the company of the St. George, the representing of whose temper and carriage I refer to Mr. Strickland and Mr. Bence, or one of them. The spreading and acting of dangerous principles amongst the mariners will not be easily prevented, unless there be some known rules established for their regulation, and punishments authorized proportionable to their demerits that shall infringe them. I do therefore recommend it to your lordships' honours, to move the houses that an ordinance for martial law at sea may be speedily passed; as also, that the advocate of the admiralty and fleet may be sent down to assist, for putting the same in execution, if your lordships' honours shall, in your wisdom, think fit.

Sir Anthony Weldon, the chairman for the committee of Kent, hath several times imparted to me his opinion, that it will be very necessary to put guns into the fort at Gravesend, as also to secure Queenborough castle, as doubting some attempts will be made upon it; his advice being grounded upon intelligence received from the army, that the revolted ships may have a design to come up into the river, and so endanger both the ships at Chatham, and other ships in the river Thames; which I do also present unto your lordships' honours' consideration.

I have proceeded in the examination concerning the fellowship, and find that, of about threescore and ten aboard, thirty-five have openly declared they will

not oppose the revolted ships. Some, also, amongst them are found out, that have been eminently active to seduce the rest. I shall therefore take order for discharge of such of them as have manifested their disaffection, and shall endeavour to get their places supplied with fit men.

And so, taking my leave, I rest your lordships' honours'

Very affectionate and humble servant,

WARWICK.

Aboard the St. George,
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